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A

HAND-BOOK

OF THE

HISTORY OF PAINTING,

FROM THE AGE OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT

TO THE PRESENT TIME;

S.C 6

BY

81243

DR. FRANZ KUGLER.

a.c.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY A LADY.

IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.—THE ITALIAN SCHOOLS OF PAINTING.

EDITED, WITH NOTES,

BY

C. L. EASTLAKE, ESQ., R.A.

S. c - 5

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TO THE BINDER.

The Engraving of the Ceiling of the Sistine Chapel is to be placed at the end of the Volume.



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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

It is the Author's wish to supply, by means of the present Hand-Book, a want which he himself sensibly experienced when he first endeavoured to acquire a general knowledge of the early history and progress of the Art of Painting. He found no short and easily-intelligible guide, pointing out to the unlearned the leading styles of Art, and serving as an introduction to the researches of our most recent writers. The book now submitted to the indulgence of the connoisseur first consisted only of notes compiled for private study; these were augmented and corrected by the inspection of the most important specimens of Art, and the whole was finally arranged with a due regard to chronological order. The work makes no pretension to originality; its sole object, as already stated, is, to form an introduction to the more valuable productions in the literature of Art. The Author only hopes he may have succeeded in fulfilling the most obvious requisites for this end.

His work is therefore strictly to be considered as a compilation. In treating his materials, he has en-

deavoured to follow the method of the most re
critics, particularly that which, in the researche
Von Rumohr, first established its conclusions on
foundation of genuine history. (In a few instan
where the Author felt himself compelled to di
from the views of this master-historian of Art,
convictions were perhaps not without sufficie
grounds.) The principal sources whence he derive
his materials, and in which the reader may fin
fuller information, are everywhere given; he has no
scrupled to adopt occasionally even the words of hi
authorities, for he was unwilling to run the risk of
spoiling what had been once well expressed by at-
tempting to give it a new form. Many statements,
many expressions are, however, not always marked
as quotations, as the notes would thus have been un-
necessarily multiplied; besides which, the instructed
reader will easily recognize such passages. Certain
views again are the result of the Author's own mode
of thinking, especially in the second volume.

But although this system of compilation prevails generally, and even in the portion just alluded to, it was at the same time the Author's object to express his own peculiar views and convictions. Perhaps many crude, partial opinions, or, to give them a milder term, many *subjective* decisions, may have been the result; perhaps many a reader of a different taste may be offended by them. A decided mode of thinking may, however, be less objection-

able than the opposite defect—but too common in compilations of this kind—the defect, namely, of blindly following various authorities, and indiscriminately adopting their tone; now exalting the romantic, now the classic principle; at one time recognizing the end of imitation in the artlessness of the early epochs, at another in the measured regularity of the later academic efforts. In compendiums thus treated, the inexperienced reader easily loses the clue which should conduct him through the labyrinth of the various schools and styles of Art. On the other hand, when he is aware that a writer has a moral individuality, when he has become familiar with that writer's peculiar mode of thinking, he can without difficulty translate the decisions he reads into his own. The Author, for his own part, confesses that, in the course of his studies for the present object, he has been most interested when the authorities he consulted exhibited the individuality to which he alludes.

The Author's predilections in minor respects, again, may not find favour with some readers; for example, his inconsistency in the mode of writing certain names*. It may be more difficult to justify, in every instance,

* [The Author gives as examples Raphael for Raffaelc, Johann van Eyck, Hans Hemling, for Jan van Eyck, Jan Hemling, etc. With regard to the first, it appears that the great artist wrote his own name *Rafael*, so that the German and English form Raphael is nearer to this than any of the multifarious later Italian modes.—Ed.]

the character he has assigned to the different groups into which the painters are successively divided in this history of Art. A human being, thank Heaven! is not to be ranged like a plant, in classes, according to leaves and stamina; unfettered individuality laughs at this philosophic method, and the exceptions easily become more numerous than the rules. Nevertheless, in order to a clear general view, certain subdivisions are necessary, and thus, for once, may be permitted.

In fact, the Author's chief task necessarily consisted in defining, however briefly, the leading characteristics of styles; since these only, and not catalogues of names and works, can give a distinct impression to the attentive reader. The various specimens which are referred to in detail, in the account of the different artists, are hence to be considered, in most cases, only as examples of the previous general definition. The Author has at the same time endeavoured always to particularize the most important as well as the most accessible works, and, with regard to those especially which are moveable, to indicate the gallery where they were at the time he wrote;—these localities having changed so often during the last fifty years. In this he had also a subordinate object in view: it was the publisher's wish that the work should recommend itself as a traveller's hand-book, to point out what is most worthy of attention among the examples of Painting in different places. The INDEX

OF PLACES at the conclusion of both volumes has been prepared with a view to this object. Completeness in this respect was of course not within the limits of the Author's plan; but, for the inquirer who in the first instance perhaps is content with a general view, the examples adduced may be sufficient; at all events they will be found more ample than those given in the usual guide-books for travellers.

The Author's attempt to compress an extensive scheme within narrow limits must undoubtedly involve many defects, independently of those already hinted at; yet the indulgence of the reader will likewise take into account the great difficulty of satisfactorily accomplishing all the objects proposed. Some circumstances may be too briefly dismissed; others of less importance may be treated too diffusely; perhaps, in consequence of further investigations in the history of Art (and various works of the kind are in progress), some views may in the end prove untenable*.

* [The Author proceeds to make some observations which have been attended to in the notes or additions. In alluding to his short account of the early Neapolitan school, he expresses the conviction that the resemblance between certain characteristics of that school and the contemporary style of the Netherlands, may be attributed to the union and consequent intercourse between Naples and Spain (Arragon) after 1435.—ED.]

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE foregoing extracts explain the general nature and object of the present work. The want which it was intended to supply in Germany has been long felt by English lovers of Art, and the translation will fill a place not hitherto occupied by any compilation of the kind. Of the important literary sources chiefly referred to, the most recent are as yet but little known in this country; it is due to the Author to add, that his materials are selected with judgement, and that the original portions of the work, critical as well as descriptive, contribute essentially to its interest. The result is an unpretending but useful Hand-Book, the perusal of which would be a fit preparation for a visit to the collections of paintings on the continent and in our own country; while the remarks it contains with reference to the characteristics of schools and individual artists recommend it as a means of forming the taste. The indulgence with which the productions of the early Italian masters are regarded may sometimes, perhaps, convey too exalted an idea of their merit, but it will not be forgotten that those efforts prepared the

brightest æra of Art, and contained within them the germs of a perfect development. In one or two instances, where the judgement of the Author on works of maturer skill appeared to differ from received opinions, it was thought necessary to remark this difference: in general, however, the notes that have been added are merely explanatory. The history of Italian Art has been so much elucidated of late years, even since the present work appeared, that some statements needed correction: it is quite possible that further emendations may be hereafter necessary*. In the responsible task of revising the translation the Editor thought it safest to consult the Author himself on some points; this led to the communication of some additional facts. In every case where an alteration of this kind has been suggested by the Author, it is either inserted in the text, or the note appears as part of the original work. With these additions the translation may be fairly pronounced to be more complete and accurate than the original†.

* The revision of the second volume, which treats of the Northern Schools, has been undertaken by another Editor.

† The Editor takes this opportunity of expressing his acknowledgments to his friend Mr. Seymour Kirkup for some communications relating to early Florentine works of Art. In alluding to the recent discovery of a fresco by Giotto (§ 20, 3), the Editor has mentioned Mr. Aubrey Bezzi as having been chiefly instrumental in bringing so interesting a relic to light. That this would never have been accomplished but for the perseverance of Mr. Bezzi is acknowledged by all; but the Editor believes it will be more agreeable to that gentleman to add that Mr. Kirkup and the Marchese Ferroni assisted him materially in his difficult undertaking.

In tracing the history of Art in so condensed a form, the unprejudiced observer will naturally be struck with the fact, that a considerable measure of the world's approbation has been awarded to productions apparently opposite in their aim. The grounds of this approbation are nevertheless sufficiently consistent; and in order to be satisfied on this point, it may be useful to recur occasionally to those leading principles of criticism the conclusions of which coincide with the decisions in question.

The end of the Arts, in whatever terms defined, may be assumed to be more or less common to all the creations of taste, in which some external attraction, some element of beauty, is the vehicle of mental pleasure or moral interest. On the other hand, in considering the form, or means, of any one of the Arts, as distinguished from the rest, a more essential difference is apparent: the value and dignity of each art, considered in this light, is not in proportion to the qualities it may have in common with its rivals, but to those qualities which are unattainable by them. Hence, whenever the characteristic excellence of a given art has been displayed in its strength, such results have been ultimately preferred even to works of higher intellectual pretensions, which may have been deficient in the effective employment of the form in which they are expressed.

Examples are frequent in the history of taste; and we thus comprehend why various schools have at-

tained great celebrity in spite of certain defects. It is because their defects are generally such as other human attainments, other modes of expression, could easily supply: their excellencies, on the contrary, are their own, and are unapproachable except by means of the Art in which they are displayed. Such excellencies constitute what may be called SPECIFIC STYLE.

In the present history we have to consider examples of Painting alone; but it is always to be taken for granted, that pictures of acknowledged excellence, of whatever school, owe their reputation to the emphatic display of some qualities that are proper to the Art. These merits are, nevertheless, often attempted to be conveyed in words, and the mode in which language endeavours to give an equivalent for the impressions produced by a picture is at once an illustration of the above principles. The progress of time, motion, speech, the comparison with things not present—all impossible in the silent, quiescent and immutable Art—are resorted to without scruple in describing pictures, yet the description does not therefore strike us as untrue. It will immediately be seen that the same liberty is in many cases allowable and necessary when representation competes with description. The eye has its own poetry; and as the mute language of nature in its *simultaneous* effect (the indispensable condition of harmony) produces impressions which words restricted to mere *succession*

can but imperfectly embody, so the finest qualities of the formative arts are precisely those which language cannot adequately convey. These truths being once felt, it will appear that a servile attention to the letter of description, as opposed to its translateable spirit, accuracy of historic details, exactness of costume, etc., are not essential in themselves, but are valuable only in proportion as they assist the demands of the Art, or produce an effect on the imagination. This may sufficiently explain why an inattention to these points, on the part of great painters (and poets, as compared with mere historians), has interfered so little with their reputation. In this instance the powers of Painting are opposed to those of language generally; on the same principle, they would be distinguished in many respects from those of poetry*; in like manner, if we suppose a comparison with Sculpture, or any imitative art, the strength of Painting will still consist in the distinctive attributes which are thus forced into notice. Of these attributes, some may be more prominent in one school, some in another; but they are all valued because they are characteristic—because the results are unattainable in the same perfection by any other means.

The principle here dwelt on with regard to Painting is equally applicable to all the fine arts: each

* See Lessing's 'Laokoon.'

Art is raised by raising its characteristic qualities; each lays a stress on those means of expression in which its rivals are deficient, in order to compensate those in which its rivals surpass it. The principle extends even to the rivalry of the formative Arts generally with Nature. The absence of sound and progressive action is supplied by a more significant, mute and momentary *appearance*. The power of selection, the attempt to give the large impression in which the idea of beauty resides, and which corresponds with the image which the memory retains, the emphasis laid on the permanent rather than on the accidental qualities of the visible world, are all prerogatives by means of which a feeble imitation successfully competes even with its archetype. As this selection and generalization are the qualities in which imitation, as opposed to nature, is strong, so the approach to literal rivalry is, as usual, in danger of betraying comparative weakness. Could the imitation of living objects, for example, in Painting or Sculpture, be carried to absolute deception as regards their mere surface, we should only be reminded that life and motion were wanting. On the other hand, relative completeness, or that consistency of convention which suggests no want—the test of style—is attainable in the minute as well as the grand view of nature, and may be found in some of the Dutch as well as in the Italian masters. Even the principles of generalization and of beauty, incom-

patible as they might seem to be with the subjects commonly treated by the former, are very apparent in their style of colouring and in other qualities.

The rivalry of the Arts with Nature thus suggests the definition of their *general style*. The rivalry of Art with Art points out the *specific style* of each mode of imitation. Both relate to the *means*: and the universal principle of beauty which the first includes, undoubtedly places a more or less essential treatment of form, as well as of colour, among the higher attributes of Painting. The *end* of the Arts would be defined not only by their general nature, but by the consideration *to whom they are addressed*. The necessity of appealing, directly or indirectly, to human sympathies—the conclusion which the latter question involves—tends in like manner to correct an exaggerated and exclusive attention to style, inasmuch as the end in question is more or less common to all the fine arts. The Genius of Painting might award the palm to Titian, but human beings would be more interested with the inventions of Raphael. The claims of the different schools are thus ultimately balanced by the degrees in which they satisfy the mind; but as the enlightened observer is apt to form his conclusions by this latter standard alone, it has been the object of these remarks to invite his attention more especially to the excellence of the Art itself, on which the celebrity of every school more or less depends, and which, what-

ever themes it may be applied to, recommends itself by the evidence of mental labour, and in the end increases the sum of mental pleasure.

Next to the nature of the Art itself, the influence of religion, of social and political relations, and of letters, the modifying circumstances of climate and of place, the character of a nation, a school and an individual, and even the particular object of a particular painter, are to be taken into the account, and open fresh sources of interest, which are eloquently dwelt on by the Author as far as his limits permit. With the cultivated observer, indeed, these associations again are in danger at first of superseding the consideration of the Art as such; but by whatever means attention is invited, the judgement must be gradually exercised, and the eye unconsciously educated.

In avoiding throughout too precise a definition of the end of Art, it may nevertheless be well to remember, that so great a difference in the highest moral interests as that which existed between the Pagan and Christian world, must of necessity involve important modifications, even in the physical elements of imitation. However imposing were the ideas of beauty and of power which the Pagan arrived at by looking around, but not above him, by deriving his religion as well as his taste from the perfect attributes of life throughout nature, the Christian definition of the human being, at least, must be admitted to rest on more just and comprehensive relations.

It is true the general character of the Art itself is unchangeable, and that character was never more accurately defined than in the sculpture of the ancient Greeks; but new human feelings demanded corresponding means of expression, and it was chiefly reserved for Painting to embody them. That art, as treated by the great modern masters, had not, like sculpture, a complete model in classic examples, and was thus essentially a modern creation. The qualities in which it is distinguished from the remaining specimens of classic Painting are, in fact, nearly identified with those which constitute its specific style. Hence, when carried to a perfection probably unknown to the ancients, and ennobled by a spiritual aim, the result sometimes became the worthy auxiliary of a religion that hallowed, but by no means interdicted, the admiration of nature.

The consideration of the influence of Religion on the Arts forces itself on the attention in investigating the progress of Painting, since so large a proportion of its creations was devoted to the service of the Church—in many instances, we fear we must add, the service of superstition. Yet the difference or abuse of creeds may be said in most cases to affect works of Art only in their extrinsic conditions; the great painters were so generally penetrated with the spirit of the faith they illustrated, that the most unworthy subjects were often the vehicles of feelings to which all classes of Christians are more or less

alive. The implicit recognition of apocryphal authorities is, however, not to be dissembled. Among the Editor's notes will be found occasional references to the sources whence the painters at the revival of Art derived their subjects. Some acquaintance with the legends and superstitions of the middle ages is as necessary to the intelligence of many Italian and German works of Art, as the knowledge of the heathen mythology is to explain the subjects of Greek vases and marbles. Certain themes belong more especially to particular times and places: such are the incidents from the lives of the Saints*, the predilection for which varied with the devotional spirit of the age and the habits of different countries and districts, to say nothing of successive canonizations†. Even Scripture subjects had their epochs: at first the dread of idolatry had the effect of introducing and consecrating a system of merely typical representation, and hence the characters and events of

* For these, the compilation of the Bollandists might be considered more than sufficient; but for the wilder fables, from which the subjects of early works of Art were so often selected, the translations from Simeon Metaphrastes in Lippomano 'De Vitis Sanctorum,' and the 'Aurea Legenda' of Jacopo della Voragine, will be found the best guides.

† In altarpieces nothing was more common than to represent Saints who lived in different ages, assembled round the enthroned Virgin and Child. This is not to be considered an anachronism, since it rather represented a heavenly than an earthly assembly. Many pictures of the kind in churches were the property or gift of private individuals, and in this case the selection of the Saints rested with the original proprietor.

the Old Testament were long preferred to those of the New. The cycle from the latter, though augmented, like the Bible series generally, from apocryphal sources, was from first to last comparatively restricted, many subjects remaining untouched even in the best ages of Art. This is again to be explained by remembering, that while the scenes and personages of the Old Testament were understood to be figurative, those of the New were regarded as objects of direct edification, or even of homage, and hence were selected with caution*. In general, the incidents that exemplified the leading dogmas of faith were chosen in preference to others, and thus the Arts became the index of the tenets that were prominent at different periods.

The selection, or at least the treatment of subjects from the Gospels, may have been regulated in some instances also by their assumed correspondence with certain prophecies; indeed, the circumstances alluded to in the predictions of the Old Testament are not unfrequently blended in pictures with the facts of the New. The subjects called the Deposition from the Cross, and the Pietà (the dead Christ mourned by the Marys and Disciples, or by the Madonna alone,) may be thus explained†. Hence, too, the

* "Picturæ ecclesiarum sunt quasi libri laycorum," is the observation of a writer of the twelfth century.—Comestor: Historia Scholastica. (Hist. Evang. c. 5.)

† Zechariah xii. 10.

never-failing accompaniments of the Nativity*; hence the "Wise Men" are represented as kings†, and the Flight into Egypt is attended with the destruction of the idols‡. Subjects of this class were sometimes combined in regular cycles, which, in the form they assumed after the revival of Art, probably had their origin in the selection of meditations for the Rosary (instituted in the thirteenth century): among these were the "Joys§" and "Sorrows‖" of the Virgin, and the principal events of the Passion¶. Other themes common at the same time

* Isaiah i. 3.

† Psalms lxxii. 10, 11. Certain accessories in pictures of this subject are derived from Isaiah lx. 6.

‡ Isaiah xix. 1. (See Comestor, *ib.*, c. 10.) The incident may have been directly borrowed from an apocryphal source, the 'Evangelium Infantiæ.' Circumstances adopted from similar authorities were sometimes interwoven with the subjects of the New Testament.

§ 1. The Annunciation. 2. The Visitation. 3. The Nativity. 4. The Adoration of the Kings. 5. The Presentation in the Temple. 6. Christ found by his Mother in the Temple. 7. The Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin.

‖ 1. The Prophecy of Simeon (Luke ii. 35). 2. The Flight into Egypt. 3. Christ, while disputing with the Doctors in the Temple, missed by his Mother. 4. Christ Betrayed. 5. The Crucifixion (the Virgin and St. John only present). 6. The Deposition from the Cross. 7. The Ascension (the Virgin left on earth).

¶ The "Seven Hours of the Passion" were:—1. The Last Supper. 2. The Agony in the Garden. 3. Christ before Caiaphas. 4. Christ before Herod. 5. Christ crowned with thorns. 6. Pilate washing his hands. 7. The Crucifixion (the centurion and others present). The more complete series contained in addition to these and other subjects:—The Flagellation. The Ecce Homo. The Procession to Calvary, or Christ bearing his Cross. The Entombment. The Descent to the Limbus. The Resurrection. The Life of Christ contained,

had their appropriate application; the history of St. John the Baptist* was the constant subject in Baptisteries; the chapels especially dedicated to the Virgin were adorned with scenes from her life†; the hosts of Heaven, "Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers‡," were sometimes introduced in cupolas, but the more customary subjects were the Ascension of Christ and the Assumption of the Virgin§. The subjects of the Old Testament were universally considered as types: their assumed ulte-

in addition to many of the above the Baptism and Transfiguration. The Life of the Virgin, though naturally interwoven with the last, was a distinct series. The subjects of all these cycles varied in number, perhaps accordingly as they were separately or collectedly adapted to the divisions of the Rosary and Corona. The 'Speculum Salvationis' (Augsburg edition) assigns seven to each of the first three series, in the above order. The more ordinary division was five for each.

* Somewhat amplified from St. Mark's account: see the Italian translation of the 'Flos Sanctorum' (Aug. 29).

† See the 'Evangelium de Nativitate Mariæ' and the 'Protevangelium Jacobi.' The subjects from the history of Joachim and Anna, the parents of the Virgin (painted by Taddeo Gaddi, Domenico Ghirlandajo, Gaudenzio Ferrari and others), are chiefly in the latter.

‡ The orders of angels, as represented by the Italian painters, appear to have been derived from a treatise 'De Hierarchiâ cœlesti' (c. 7–11), which bears the name of Dionysius Areopagita, and may be traced to Jewish sources. Vasari ventured to cover a ceiling in Florence with "illustrations" of a still profounder lore: see his Ragionamenti (Giorn. i.).

§ This last subject frequently adorned the high altar. The subject of the Death of the Virgin, which occurs in MSS. of the middle ages, as well as in pictures of later date, was gradually superseded by it. For the legend, see the 'Flos Sanctorum' (Aug. 25) and the 'Aurea Legenda': both give the early authorities.

rior meaning is frequently explained in glosses of MS. Bibles, and in the 'Compendiums of Theology' which were in the hands of all ecclesiastics. These commentaries contained much that may be traced to the early Fathers; but during and after the revival of Art they were more immediately derived from the scholastic theologians*, whose writings appear to have had considerable influence on the sacred Painting of Italy and Europe.

* The most renowned of these doctors were of the Dominican order (de' Predicatori); the same fraternity afterwards boasted some distinguished painters (Angelico da Fiesole, Fra Bartolommeo, etc.), and on many accounts may be considered the chief medium of communication between the Church and its handmaid, the Art. Among the earlier commentaries on Scripture evidently consulted by the painters, was the Historia Scholastica of Comestor already referred to.

GENERAL LITERARY MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF ITALIAN PAINTING.

I. PRINCIPAL HISTORICAL WORKS.

Earliest Memoirs relating to the History of Art, by Lorenzo Ghiberti (the Florentine sculptor, who died 1455): Commentarii sulle Arti.

Extracts from the MS. are printed in Cicognara: Storia della Scultura, ii. 99.

Giorgio Vasari: Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori.

Second edition, corrected and enlarged by the author: Florence, 1568.—Later reprints: Bologna, 1647–48, 1663, and Florence, 1823.—The edition of Rome, 1758 (colle note e illustrazioni di Gio. Bottari), printed also at Leghorn and Florence, 1767–72, contains important notes and corrections.—That of Siena, 1791–94 (pubbl. per opera del P. Guglielmo della Valle), is less useful.—Reprint of the last: Milano, 1807 (dalla società tipografica de' Classici Italiani).—German edition: Leben der ausgezeichnetsten Maler, Bildhauer und Baumeister, etc. beschrieben von Giorgio Vasari. Aus dem Italienischen. Mit den wichtigsten Anmerkungen der früheren Herausgeber, so wie mit neueren Berichtigungen und Nachweisungen begleitet und herausgegeben von Ludwig Schorn. Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1832. (This excellent edition is as yet unfinished.)

Raffaello Borghini: Il Riposo, in cui della pittura e della scultura si favella, de' più illustri pittori e scultori, ecc. Fiorenza, 1584.

D. Jacopo Morelli: Notizia d' opere di disegno nella prima metà del secolo XVI.; scritta da un anonimo di quel tempo. Bassano, 1800.

Filippo Baldinucci: Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in quà, ec. Firenze, 1681–1728.

Later editions: Firenze, 1767–74 (Ediz. accresciuta di annotazioni da Dom. Maria Manni).—Turino, 1768–1817 (con varie dissertazioni, note ed aggiunte da Gius. Piacenza).

Works on the History of Art in particular districts and places.

C. Carlo Cesare Malvasia: Felsina pittrice. Vite de' pittori Bolognesi. Bologna, 1678.

Continued by L. Crespi: Vite de' pitt. Bol. non descritte nella Felsina pittr. Roma, 1769.

Carlo Ridolfi: Le maraviglie dell' arte; ovvero le vite degli illustri pittori Veneti e dello stato. Venezia, 1648.

Aless. Longhi: Compendio delle vite de' pittori Veneziani istorici più rinomati del presente secolo. Venezia, 1762.

Zanetti: Della pittura Veneziana e delle opere pubbliche dei Veneziani maestri. Venezia, 1771. (A very useful work.)

Fabio Maniago: Storia delle belle arti Friulane. Venezia, 1819.

Gio. Batt. Verci: Notizie intorno alla vita ed alle opere de' pittori, scultori e intagliatori della città di Bassano. Venezia, 1775.

L. Crico: Lettere sulle belle arti Trivigiani. Treviso, 1833.

C. Bart. del Pozzo: Le vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti Veronesi. Verona, 1718.

C. Franc. Maria Tassi: Vite de' pitt., scult. e archit. Bergamaschi. Bergamo, 1793.

Gio. Batt. Zaist: Notizie storiche de' pitt., scult. ed archit. Cremonesi. Cremona, 1774.

Lod. Vedriani: Raccolta de' pitt., scult., archit. Modenesi più celebri. Modena, 1622.

Girol. Tiraboschi: Notizie de' pitt., scult., incis., archit. nati negli stati del Duca di Modena. Modena, 1786.

Ces. Cittadella: Catalogo storico de' pitt. e scult. Ferraresi e delle opere loro. Ferrara, 1782.

Lione Pascoli: Vite de' pitt., scult. ed archit. Perugini. Roma, 1732.

Rafaele Soprani: Le vite de' pitt., scult. ed archit. Genovesi e de' forestieri che in Genova operarono. Genova, 1674.

Second edition: Genova, 1768 (accresciute ed arrichite di note da C. Gius. Ratti).

Etruria pittrice, ovvero storia della pittura Toscana. Firenze, 1791–95.

Fra Gugl. della Valle: Lettere Sanesi. Venezia, 1782–86.

Researches into the history of Sienese Art.

Bernardo de' Dominici: Vite de' pitt., scult. e archit. Napoletani. Napoli, 1742.

(Fil. Hackert): Memorie de' pittori Messinesi. Napoli, 1792.

Another edition. Messina, 1821.

Gio. Paolo Lomazzo: Trattato dell' arte della pittura, ec. Milano, 1584.

The same edition has also the date 1585. Important for the history of the Milanese school.

Works on the later periods of Italian Art.

GIO. BAGLIONE: Le vite de' pitt., scult., archit. del pontificato di Gregorio XIII. 1572 fino al 1642. Roma, 1642.

Later edition: Napoli, 1733 (colla vita di Salvator Rosa scr. da Gio. Batt. Passeri).

GIAMBATT. PASSERI: Vite de' pitt., scult. e archit. che hanno lavorato in Roma, morti dal 1641 fino al 1673. Roma, 1772.

BELLORI: Le vite de' pitt., scult., archit. moderni. Roma, 1672.

Second edition: Rome, 1728 (colla vita del cav. Luca Giordano).

LIONE PASCOLI: Vite de' pitt., scult. ed archit. moderni. Roma, 1730–36.

GOETHE: Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert. Tübingen, 1805.

The principal biographies of particular artists, and accounts of their works, are mentioned in the text.

Among the numerous works in which the general history of Italian Art is investigated, the following may be quoted:—

D'ARGENVILLE: Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres. Paris, 1742–45.

Later editions: Paris, 1762; and Paris, 1787.

AB. LUIGI LANZI: La storia pittorica dell' Italia inferiore. Firenze, 1792.—Storia pitt. dell' Italia dal risorgimento delle belle arti fin presso a fine del XVIII. secolo. Bassano, 1795.

New, improved, and enlarged edition: Bassano, 1809. Ed. quarta: Pisa, 1815–17

J. D. FIORILLO: Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste von ihrer Wiederauflebung bis auf die neuesten Zeiten. Vol. 1 and 2 (containing the history of Italian painting). Göttingen, 1798–1801.

COMTE GRÉGOIRE ORLOFF: Essai sur l'histoire de la peinture en Italie. Paris, 1823, etc.

Modern works elucidating the early history and progress of Italian Art.

S. D'AGINCOURT: Histoire de l'art par les monumens depuis sa décadence au IVe. siècle jusqu'à son renouvellement au XVIe. Paris, 1811–23; 6 vols. in fol. ornés de 325 pl.

C. F. VON RUMOHR: Italienische Forschungen. Berlin und Stettin, 1827–31.

On the Art in the earlier middle ages, on the schools of Tuscany and Umbria, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, and on Raphael. A very important work on many accounts, especially as regards the investigation and communication of original documentary evidence.

E. FÖRSTER: Beiträge zur neuern Kunstgeschichte. Leipzig, 1835.

On the Tuscan schools of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Equally interesting with the last-mentioned.

The Travels in Italy, in relation to Art, and the descriptions of works of Art there, are endless. Among the best and most useful may be mentioned:—

J. J. VOLCKMANN: Historisch-kritische Nachrichten von Italien, etc. Leipzig, 1777–78. Second edit.

VON RAMDOHR: Ueber Malerei und Bildhauerarbeit in Rom. Leipzig, 1787.

F. F. HOFSTÄTTER: Nachrichten von Kunstsachen in Italien. Wien, 1792.
Two parts: Venice, Padua, Ferrara, Bologna.

B. SPETH: Die Kunst in Italien. München, 1819–23.

Fr. H. VON DER HAGEN: Briefe in die Heimat. Breslau, 1818–21.
Interesting as regards the works of the early middle ages.

C. F. VON RUMOHR: Drei Reisen nach Italien. Leipzig, 1832.

E. PLATNER, C. BUNSEN, E. GERHARD, W. RÖSTELL: Beschreibung der Stadt Rom. Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1830, etc.

Of works relating to examples of Italian Art in other countries the following may be added:

J. D. PASSAVANT: Kunstreise durch England und Belgien. Frankfurt a. M., 1833.
An important and useful work. [Translated into English.]

A. HIRT: Kunstbemerkungen auf einer Reise über Wittenberg und Meissen nach Dresden und Prag. Berlin, 1830, etc.

The most important of the Dictionaries of Painters are:

FÜSSLI: Allgemeines Künstlerlexicon. Zürich, 1779, with the Supplements of 1806–1824.

Dr. G. K. NAGLER: Neues allgemeines Künstlerlexicon. München, 1835.

II. BOOKS OF ENGRAVINGS.

Musée de peinture et de sculpture, ou recueil des principaux tableaux, statues et bas-reliefs des collections

publiques et particulières de l'Europe. Dess. et grav. par Réveil, avec des notices etc. par Duchesne aîné. Paris, 1829–1834.

Good outlines in a small 8vo size. A very copious collection, but unfortunately not selected with sufficient regard to the object of the work. Of the earlier masters before Raphael a very few examples are given; the school of Leonardo da Vinci is omitted altogether.

Choix de tableaux et statues des plus célèbres museés et cabinets étrangers. Par une société d'artistes et d'amateurs. Paris, 1819.

Outlines in small 8vo. A good selection, but it appears incomplete.

Seroux d'Agincourt: Histoire de l'art par les monumens. (See above.)

Outlines (sometimes small and numerous) in folio, illustrating the earlier epochs of Art up to the time of Raphael.

Schola italica picturæ, sive selectæ quædam summorum e schola italica pictorum tabulæ ære incisæ, cura et impensis Gavini Hamilton. Roma, 1771.

A splendid work in folio, containing forty admirably executed engravings after the best masters.

Recueil d'estampes d'après les plus beaux tableaux et d'après les plus beaux desseins qui sont en France dans le cabinet du Roy, dans celuy de Monseigneur le Duc d'Orleans et dans d'autres cabinets. (Crozat.)

A splendid work in two folio vols. 1729 and 1742. A considerable number of the pictures engraved in it are in England.

The British Gallery of Pictures, by H. Tresham, etc. London, 1818.

A selection of works in England, arranged chronologically.

The Italian school of design: being a series of Fac-

similes of original drawings by the most eminent painters and sculptors of Italy, etc. By William Young Ottley. London, 1823.

Large fol. Very important for Raphael.

Vies et œuvres des peintres les plus célèbres de toutes les écoles. Recueil classique, par C. P. Landon.

Outlines in small fol. This collection is referred to throughout in the text, in describing the works of painters contained in it.

Etruria pittrice. (See above.)

This contains an engraved specimen of each master of the Tuscan school, from one of his master-works, etc.

Works on Galleries.

Museé Français.

A splendid work in fol. containing a selection from the works which were collected in the Louvre during the Empire.

Annales du Musée, ou Recueil complet de gravures d'après les tableaux, etc., du Musée royale de France, aux différentes époques de son établissement et dans son état actuel etc., par C. P. Landon. Seconde édition. (Écoles Italiennes.) Paris, 1829.

Outlines. The second edition is more useful than the first on account of its judicious arrangement.

Pinacoteca del palazzo reale delle scienze e delle arti di Milano, pubbl. da Michele Bisi, ec. Milano, 1812–33.

Outlines in 4to. The gallery at Milan was the central museum of Italy during the domination of the French.

Tableaux, statues, etc. de la Galerie de Florence et du Palais Pitti, dess. par Wicar; etc. 2 vol. Paris, 1789–92.

A splendid work in large folio.

Reale Galleria di Firenze, illustrata. Firenze, 1817, etc.

Outlines from the pictures in the Gallery of the Uffizj.

La Pinacoteca della ponteficia Accademia delle belle arti in Bologna; pubbl. di Francesco Rosaspina. Bologna, 1833.

Finished engravings in small fol.

Real Museo Borbonico. Napoli, 1824, etc.

Gallery of Naples; but chiefly containing antique works of Art. Outlines in 4to.

Fiore della ducale Galleria Parmense. Parma, 1824.

Outlines in fol. Incomplete.

Kaiserl., königl. Bilder-Gallerie im Belvedere zu Wien. Nach den Zeichnungen von Perger gest. von verschiedenen Künstlern. Wien, 1821–28.

Small finished engravings.

The National Gallery of pictures by the great masters. London.

Finished engravings in large 4to. Begun in 1833.

Valpy's Nat. Gall. of Painting and Sculpture. 8vo. with slight sketches, etc.

Engravings of the most noble the Marquis of Stafford's Collection of Pictures in London. By W. Y. Ottley, etc. London, 1818, fol.

With small engravings.

Other collections of Engravings, especially those which relate to the productions of individual artists, are referred to in the text as occasion requires. A reference in every case to particular engravings from the pictures described was impossible, as the notes would thus have occupied too much space. The various catalogues that have been published may in some degree supply this information. The principal are the following:

HANS RUDOLPH FÜSSLI: Kritisches Verzeichniss der besten, nach den berühmtesten Mahlern aller Schulen vorhandenen Kupferstiche. Zürich, Band 1–3 (containing the Italian schools): 1798-1802.

Catalogue raisonné du Cabinet d'Éstampes du feu Mr. WINCKLER. Par Mich. HUBER. Leipzig. Tome second. (École Italienne.)

ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

Page 20, *lines* 6 and 7, *for* Sto (Santo) *read* S. (San).—*The same misprint occurs throughout the first three sheets (up to p.* 67) *.

28, *l.* 22. *As a note to the words* about the year 1230†. *read* †(Padre Affò, quoted by Rosini (Storia della Pittura Italiana), states that the Baptistery at Parma was not completed before 1260; consequently the paintings in question were executed at least thirty years later than the author supposes.—Ed.)

37, *l.* 20. *A comma after* Byzantine Art. *Dele the comma after* but, *and insert a semicolon after* feeling.

94, *l.* 14. *For* Simone of Bologna *read* da Bologna.

... 18. *For* Jacopo d'Avanzo *read* Jacopo d'Avanzi.

... 19. *For* Sta (Santa) *read* S. (San).

112. *The note should be inserted in brackets and marked* Ed.

122. *Last line of notes, for* Collection *read* collection.

140, *l.* 18, *after* Bartolommeo *insert* Vivarini.

No. 12, *in the margin, should stand opposite to the top line.*

147, *l.* 13. *For* Santo Croce *read* Santa Croce.

156, *l.* 9. *Transpose the second bracket of the parenthesis and insert it after* plebis.

161, *l.* 21. *Read* Andrea di Luigi.

162, *l.* 6. *Read* Lo Spagna.

163, *l.* 5, *dele the comma after* Paris.

166, *l.* 18, *dele the first* in.

230, *l.* 18, and *p.* 231, *l.* 1. *For* court *read* cloister.

264, *l.* 17. *For* Jerusalem. As treasurer to the Syrian king Seleucus, Heliodorus gave command that the treasures of the Temple should be plundered, *read* Jerusalem,—when, as treasurer to the Syrian king Seleucus, he attempted, by his master's command, to plunder the Temple.

276, *l.* 15. *For* those in the cupolas *read* the general subjects.

281, *l.* 32. *For* this cartoon *read* the cartoon for this tapestry.

290, *l.* 26, *For* au *read* aux.

301, *l.* 25, *dele the comma after* model.

306, *note. For* Kunstreise *read* Rafael von Urbino.

307, *second note. For* Kunstreise *read* Rafael von Urbino

309. *The second note is the first in order.*

310, *note. For* Kunstreise *read* Rafael von Urbino.

334, *last l. For* foregoing § *read* preceding page.

385, *l.* 2. *For* St. *read* S.

357, *note. For* artist *read* author.

368, *l.* 16. *For* groups *read* group.

393, *l.* 7. (*In note*) *dele* the accomplishment of.

416, *l.* 15. *For* are *read* is.

* The Italians generally use the abbreviated S. indiscriminately for San, Santo (which is employed in particular cases), and Santa; SS. stands for Santi, Santissimo, and Santissima. In the present translation S. stands for San alone; the other designations are expressed in an abbreviated form. Names of Saints in English or Latin have the English abbreviation St. prefixed to them.

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HAND-BOOK

OF THE

HISTORY OF PAINTING.

BOOK I.

HISTORY OF EARLY CHRISTIAN ART.

§ I. IN the study of history in general, the circumstances which mark the periods of development—the first quickening of the germ, the gradual expansion and formation, the influences that check and disturb advancing growth, and the successful struggles through which they are overcome—have always a peculiar interest, and this is especially the case in the history of Christian art. In it we remark a variety of influences in complex operation, which trace out a peculiar path distinct from the development of art in other times. We do not recognise the first efforts of imitation common to the nations of antiquity, beginning in rude and formless essays, the result of indistinct notions, and advancing step by step towards excellence: on the contrary, we find art in this instance at first shunned and despised, then forced into forms outwardly mature, but whose spirit had already passed away; torpid through long centuries of revolutions, ferments, and popular migrations; but at length, like the butterfly, casting off the

lifeless, imprisoning shell, and unfolding its light wings for a free and upward flight. Yet between this period and the complete attainment of its aim, we find Art in variety of differently modified stages of development, often dependent on external accidents, often loitering in its progress, as if pausing to rest.

1 § II. The first point of interest for us is the relation which subsisted between the earliest Christian art and that of heathen antiquity. The flourishing period of Grecian art was already past before the establishment of Christianity; *to create*, with the freedom of genius, in the spirit of those great artists who had made the undying reputation of Athens, was not the privilege of the Roman, nor of the Romanized Greek; but the high ideal type, the proportion and relation of forms, the dignified and the noble in attitude and gesture—all this was imitated—again and again imitated—on the whole not without success. By this means the frivolous luxury of the Romans had been stamped with a character of grandeur and elevation, the source of which must undoubtedly be sought in the true moral essence of Grecian art.

2 Thus the Christians found a highly finished form of imitation, and a very experienced technical skill, of which they might have availed themselves for creations of their own. But in the peculiar and hostile position which they were forced to assume against the heathen religion and its followers, they at first allowed no representation whatever of holy subjects; and when, in later times, their scruples had ceased, heathen art was already drawing near to extinction. The Christians therefore first prac-

tised the art in the degenerate manner of the latest Roman period; with that manner they still imbibed the last ray of ancient grandeur; at the same time they applied what they adopted, even from the beginning, in a peculiar manner.

The cause of this determined opposition to the ex- 3
ercise of imitative art lay not so much in a blind attachment to the Mosaic law (which could not have been so all-important to the heathen converted to Christianity), as in the circumstance that Art generally was considered as the servant, nay, even as the pillar of idolatry; it became known, as we have seen, only in the degraded condition into which it had sunk, by ministering to a weak and criminal sensuality. It appeared the encourager alike of heathenism and moral depravity. Artists who wrought images of the gods were regarded as messengers and servants of Satan: baptism was denied them by the church, so long as they adhered to their profession, and excommunication was pronounced against the neophyte who followed the prohibited occupation*. Some went so far as purposely to describe the countenance of Christ as mean and repulsive, so that the artist must have despaired of representing it. They justified such views by texts from Scripture,—for example, from Isaiah liii. 2; "He hath no form nor comeliness; and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him." It is evident that the art-loving heathen must have bitterly censured such a notion, and many are the controversies on

* C. Grüneisen, Zur Archäologie der Christlichen Kunst. Tübinger Kunstblatt, 1831, Nos. 28-30.

this point, preserved to us from the earliest ages of Christianity.

4 But there lives in Art a higher element. So long as it has not degenerated into an empty phantom, it sustains and preserves the general sentiment of moral purity, and finds its perfection, in an especial sense, in the mysterious relation of Christianity to the present world. Hence the opposition alluded to could not long continue, and must have ceased even of itself, when in the beginning of the fourth century Christianity was publicly recognized under Constantine, and its victory over Heathenism was no longer doubtful. The great number of works of art which appeared in the first centuries after this revolution, although they are certainly more remarkable for fulness of meaning than technical completeness, are a clear proof that the creative impulse had hitherto been restrained by external circumstances alone.

§ III. It is probable, however, that a peculiar direction was given to Christian art by this very opposition; even while it existed, the natural love of imitation could not wholly be restrained, and was satisfied, at least in some measure, by forms of a particular kind—forms which were in no danger of offending the scrupulous by the representation of the most holy subjects, nor of recalling to their minds the idolatry of heathenism. They merely evinced sympathy with the new doctrine, or imparted, when used as ornaments, a certain sacredness to objects in daily use. Such are the well-known symbols of the monogram of Christ, the cross, the anchor, the

ship, the lyre, the palm, the fish, the dove, the lamb, the vine, etc., which so frequently occur on seal-rings, on lamps, vessels, and cups of that time;—symbols, inasmuch as a peculiar meaning was conferred on them by common agreement, referring in some cases to passages of Scripture. It will be sufficient to mention the following*; the monogram of Christ, formed of the two first letters of his name (in Greek characters), X and P, appears in its general form thus, ☧, or, as subsequently varied, thus, ☩ ✕ ✳, united with the well-known Α and Ω (Revelations, xxii. 13.), thus Α ☧ Ω. The cross requires no explanation; the anchor denotes hope, faith, fortitude in suffering; the ship, the Christian church; the lyre is the symbol of public worship; the palm denotes victory, particularly over death; the fish is the symbol of the followers of Christ (in relation to baptism, etc.), also of Christ himself, inasmuch as the Greek word ΙΧΘΥΣ· (the fish) contains the initials of his designations, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, Θεοῦ Υἱὸς, Σωτὴρ; i. e. Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour; the dove is the symbol of the Holy Spirit, of Christ, of conjugal love, of innocence; the lamb denotes Christ as the Lamb of God, or the disciples, when Christ is regarded as the shepherd; the vine-branch represents the follower of Christ—Christ himself is the vine, etc.

§ IV. The same horror of the direct representation of holy subjects, the same symbolical disguises form the fundamental character of the works of the first cen-

* F. Münter; Sinnbilder und Kunstvorstellungen der alten Christen. Altona, 1825.

turies of Christian art. In order to obtain a satisfactory review of them, it is necessary, from the comparatively small number of existing monuments belonging to the department of painting, to take into consideration those of sculpture also.

1 A representation of Christ, which, without being a portrait, presents more than a mere allusion to his name (like the monogram), and has an intelligible reference to his divine mission, is that of the good Shepherd, which appears in innumerable works of art of this period. Christ himself had said, "I am the good Shepherd": he had told his disciples of the shepherd who goes into the wilderness to seek his lost sheep, and when he has found it, carries it on his shoulders rejoicing; who lays down his life for his sheep: he had been thus prefigured by the prophets. A representation which so naturally suggested itself was the more eagerly adopted, as it afforded subjects of the most varied and pleasing kind. We see the good Shepherd sometimes in the midst of his flock, alone or with companions, caressing a sheep, or with a shepherd's flute in his hand; sometimes sorrowing for the lost sheep, and again bearing the recovered one on his shoulders: this last conception is the most frequent. He is usually represented as a youth, sometimes as a bearded man; in simple, succinct drapery—often with a short mantle depending from the shoulders, almost resembling the priestly *casula*. A peculiar idyllic character pervades these designs, and involuntarily invites to calm meditation: among the most graceful, is a relief on a sarcophagus, in which he appears as a youth with long curling hair, standing be-

tween two trees in an easy, dignified attitude: two sheep are at his side, one of which he is caressing*.

In passing, we may notice another much less fre- 2
quent representation, which refers to Christ,—Orpheus alluring the beasts of the forest by the sound of his lyre. It certainly seems strange to find a subject from heathen mythology among the most solemn themes of Christian contemplation; but probably this mythe was considered as a prefiguration of Christ; the so-called songs of Orpheus, always in praise of the "*One* God," may have easily given rise to this notion; besides, there is a certain affinity between the treatment of this subject and various representations of the good Shepherd. In the early efforts of Christian art, much was adopted from the ancient manner of representation, together with the ancient technical methods; this, which at first view seems opposed to the conceptions of Christianity, has yet a foundation in its symbolical character. Thus landscape accessories, for example rivers, are represented under the form of river-gods, etc.: personifications of this kind continued till a late period in the middle ages.

But it was not sufficient to present a general pic- 3
ture only of the Saviour and his disciples; a representation of the mystery of his birth, actions, sufferings, resurrection and ascension, was likewise demanded. As the Old Testament was regarded as the *promise*, which had received its *fulfilment* in the New, and as the Christians sought to refer not only its prophecies but its facts to the Redeemer, they represented the remarkable incidents of his life under corresponding events of the

* Aringhi: Roma Subterranea Novissima, i. p. 203.

Jewish history. Thus was again created a rich store of subjects, which, only intimating the ideas they contained, could not wound the feelings of the spectators by a direct representation of him whom they adored in spirit. Accordingly, when we see Abraham in the act of sacrificing his son, our thoughts are directed to God, who "so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son for it." When we see Moses striking water from the rock, and kneeling figures drinking from the source, this alludes to the miraculous birth of Christ: he is, according to the words of the prophet Isaiah, xii. 3, "the well of salvation" from which the faithful "draw water with joy"; he is "the spiritual rock from which they drank." (1 Cor. x. 4.) Daniel, standing naked in the lions' den, is Christ, who passed through the valley of death, but rose again to life: the action of the arms, outstretched in prayer, in the manner of the early Christians, appears to have a reference to Christ on the cross. Elijah, ascending to heaven in a chariot, represents the ascension of Christ, etc. We also frequently meet with the history of Jonah. The taste for such representations continued through the whole of the middle ages; but in a later period the corresponding picture from the history of Christ was generally placed opposite to the Bible subject.

4 Since, however, the subjects borrowed from the Old Testament were not sufficient to exhibit the most important events of the life of Christ, others were introduced, which are in some measure direct representations of his actions. Even here, however, we may remark the same dislike to a positive iconic individuality.

In conformity with the symbolical tendency, the representations in question are not so much Christ in person, as (if I may so say) the Genius of his supernatural power, of his divine word—who, under the ideal form of a youth, performs the miracles with the loaves, and changes the water to wine; who makes the blind to see, the lame to walk, and raises the dead Lazarus to life. Many passages in the Old Testament—for example in the Prophets, and especially in Isaiah—may have also given rise to such conceptions; for in these passages, although the Messiah and his actions are distinctly foretold, his person is not described.

But as this rather symbolical than direct mode 5
of representation could not, under existing circumstances, be carried out with perfect consistency, as it had become prevalent more from the influence of external causes than from any direct prohibition of the Church with regard to imitative art (as in Mahometanism), we shall not be surprised to find that representations of the opposite kind also occur. To these belong the figure of Christ with the apostles at his side, particularly in reliefs on sarcophagi. Yet even here a certain tendency toward the symbolical treatment may still be observed. Thus we see Christ enthroned, and at his feet the vault of heaven, which a naked figure, the upper part alone visible, spreads above himself as a mantle. More frequently he appears, both as a youth and as a bearded man, standing on a mountain, out of which flow the four rivers of Paradise, referring, even in the later times of the middle ages, to the evangelists.

But the typical representations first mentioned are 6
those which most constantly recur. Where the space

permitted, these were combined in a large series, forming as it were one hymn of praise, the theme of which was the glorification of Christ and the consolations of the Christian. The cycle very generally commenced with Moses striking water from the rock, or the sacrifice of Abraham, and ended with the raising of Lazarus from the dead—in allusion to the resurrection of Christ, and as an emblem of the hope of the believer: between these subjects are generally the miracles which proclaim the divine mission of Christ.

§ V. Representations of this kind, on a small scale, are preserved on a variety of utensils. Larger *plastic* works are seen chiefly on the sides of sarcophagi, of which the Museum of Christian antiquities in the Vatican contains a considerable number. *Paintings* of greater extent were discovered in the Roman catacombs in the beginning of the seventeenth century, when these real or pretended tombs of the martyrs were eagerly examined. The catacombs consist for the most part of narrow and generally intricate passages, (in the sides of which the lowly sepulchres are excavated,) leading here and there to small chapels for the celebration of the festivals of the martyrs. The walls, niches, and roofs of these small chambers were covered with a variety of paintings in the style we have described. The best and most expressive were found in those portions of the cemeteries situated on the Via Appia and Ardeatina, which bear the name of St. Calixtus*. At present the greater part of the

* Bosio: Roma Sotteranea. Aringhi: Roma Subterranea Novissima. Bottari: Sculture e Pitture sagre estratte dai Cimiteri di Roma.

Roman catacombs are inaccessible; and even where it is still possible to penetrate, the last traces of these paintings have now disappeared: we can thus form no opinion of their execution, especially as the engravings 3
which appeared after their discovery bear no internal evidence of being accurate copies. But we may infer from these with certainty, that in a grand arrangement of the whole, in the mode of dividing the spaces to be covered, and in the decorations, they come very near to the antique paintings. We may also observe a solemnity and dignity of style which is their own, although the execution appears in some instances to have been already very defective. We remark, too, a comparatively idealized treatment of holy subjects, in the imitation of the measured forms of classic drapery; while the portraits which are occasionally introduced exhibit the ungraceful costume of some particular fashion.

It is only in the great catacombs of Naples that a 4
few paintings in the early Christian manner have been preserved, together with representations which belong to an immediately succeeding period. They are rude in execution, but in their more correct design and in a thicker application of the colour, they have still a strong affinity to ancient art. The execution of the best of the Christian sarcophagi in the Museum in Rome, also bears a striking resemblance to that of the later specimens of antique sculpture; even the worst, though very rude, exhibit in their general arrangement a remote imitation of the antique style.

In reviewing the circumstances that have been ad- 5
duced, we recognize in these peculiar representations a

new and vital principle displaying itself very strikingly in the forms of the declining Pagan world: we recognize, in short, the principle of Christian art, which conveys with the objects it represents a still deeper meaning, thus exciting the mind of the beholder to a corresponding activity of thought. It is true, in the above-mentioned efforts this principle is seen only in its early imperfect form; the connection between the representation and its meaning is for the most part as yet external, and only to be understood by the assistance of the key furnished by different passages of Scripture. Yet even in these attempts we see an opening to the path which was to lead in future times to such great results.

§ VI. It has been already mentioned, that, notwithstanding the prevalence of the symbolical mode of representation, there occur some works of art of the earliest time in which Christ is represented in his bodily form. It must be added, that the peculiar portrait-like type of countenance which has been adhered to, not only through the whole of the middle ages, but even in modern times, is to be found in works of so early a date as the fourth century. Two heads which were among the paintings of the Roman catacombs may be particularly mentioned; one on the roof of the fourth chamber in the catacombs of St. Calixtus*; over the left shoulder is thrown a drapery; what is seen of the figure is otherwise naked. The face is oval, with a straight nose, arched eyebrows, a smooth and rather high forehead:

* Compare Münter, Sinnbilder, und Kunstvorstellungen der alten Christen, ii. pp. 1–25.

the expression is serious and mild; the hair, parted on the forehead, flows in long curls down the shoulders; the beard is not thick, but short and divided; the age between thirty and forty. There is no inscription to prove that this picture was intended for Christ; but that it can represent no other, appears from the important place it occupies in the chamber, from the subordinate relation in which the other pictures stand to it, its greater size, and the absence of all peculiar costume, which prevails without exception in the portraits of the time. A description of the chamber may 2 be useful as a further illustration, and also serve as an example of the arrangement and connection of the paintings in the catacombs.

The chamber is square; in each of the walls (excepting that containing the entrance) is a niche, terminating in a semi-circular arch.

First wall (opposite to the entrance). In the niche is Orpheus; over the arch, in the centre, the Adoration of the Kings, of which no part is preserved except the Virgin and Child, and an architectural background (Bethlehem): lower on the left stands a man, pointing upwards, without doubt the prophet Micah. in reference to the words (Micah v. 2.), "But thou Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall *he* come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel," etc.: on the right, Moses strikes water from the rock. The whole alludes to the birth of Christ.

Second wall (left of the entrance). In the niche, Daniel between the Lions; over the arch, the centre is

obliterated. On the left, a man, sitting in the attitude in which Job is frequently represented. On the right, Moses unbinding his sandals*; the allusion cannot be ascertained with certainty, owing to the loss of the centre, but refers probably to the sufferings and death of Christ†.

Third wall (on the right of the entrance). In the niche, the Ascension of Elijah; over the arch, in the centre, Noah looking out from the Ark, and the return of the Dove (outpouring of the Holy Spirit?); on the left, a woman praying; on the right, the Raising of Lazarus; the whole referring to the Resurrection of Christ.

On the ceiling, above all these historical and symbolical allusions to the Redeemer, in a large and richly ornamented medallion, is the portrait we have described.

3 The second head, found in the Pontian catacombs on the Via Portuensis, with some few deviations, is similar in character to that just described; but the portion of the figure that is seen is clothed, and the whole work has certain peculiarities which appear to mark a later period.

* [In illuminated MS. Bibles and the Biblia Pauperum, the subject of Moses and the Burning Bush generally accompanies that of the Nativity (in some instances the Annunciation) and alludes to the mystery of the Incarnation. The inscriptions which sometimes accompany these representations explain the connection, such as it is, between the type and anti-type. Thus under the subject of the Burning Bush we read, "Lucet et ignescit, sed non rubus igne calescit;" under the Nativity, "Absque dolore paris Virgo Maria maris." The subject of Aaron's rod bearing flowers is occasionally added with the line, "Hic contra morem producit virgula florem." *The subject of the Nativity is surmounted by that of Moses and the Burning Bush in one of the windows of King's College Chapel at Cambridge.*—EDITOR.]

† Aringhi: Roma Subterranea Novissima, lib. iii. c. 22.

There can be no doubt, however, that similar portraits 4
existed still earlier; according to one account, Alexander Severus had placed statues of Orpheus, Abraham and Christ, in his private chapel, about the year 230. With respect to the written descriptions of the personal appearance of Christ, which have come down to us, they certainly are not, in their present form, of so early a period; but it is conjectured, with great probability, that the most important, the well-known letter of Lentulus to 5
the Roman Senate, was written originally about the end of the third century, though first found in the writers of the eleventh. In this letter of Lentulus (who, contrary to history, has been called the predecessor of Pilate in the government of Palestine) Christ is described as "a man of stately form, dignified in appearance, with a countenance that inspired veneration, and which those who look upon it may love as well as fear. His hair curling, rather dark and glossy, flows down upon his shoulders, and is parted in the middle after the manner of the Nazarenes (improperly written thus for Nazirenes). The forehead is smooth and very serene; the countenance without line or spot, of a pleasant complexion, moderately ruddy. The nose and mouth are faultless, the beard thick and reddish like the hair, not long but divided; the eyes bright and of varying colour (*oculis variis*)." A similar description of his ap- 6
pearance is given by John of Damascus, about the middle of the eighth century, compiled, as he tells us, from ancient writers. "Jesus," he says, "was of stately growth, with eyebrows joined together; beautiful eyes, large nose, curling hair; somewhat stooped; in the

bloom of life; his beard black, complexion olive, like that of his mother; with long fingers," etc. Later accounts are more embellished, and apparently follow in some particulars the form of countenance which later portraits assumed.

These descriptions give but a very general outline, yet they agree with the earliest likenesses extant; and both likenesses and descriptions show that the first Christian artists gave no arbitrary representation of the person of Christ, but followed a positive tradition, and thus traced the outlines for succeeding times.

1 § VII. A different feeling, as regards general representation, is apparent in the large mosaic paintings preserved in the most ancient Christian churches. Rome is particularly rich in works of this kind; it was to this chief seat of the Christian hierarchy, through the patronage of the emperors after Constantine, and the bequests of pious Christians, that the greatest treasures flowed, and it was here that the most considerable number of churches were erected. These mosaics, as well as the buildings themselves, belong to the interval between the middle of the fifth and ninth centuries, and in some sort mark a second period of ancient Christian art*.

2 Their arrangement was necessarily dependent on the peculiarities of the edifices they were destined to embellish. The Basilicas—for so were called the earliest

* Ciampini: Vetera Monumenta, in quibus præcipua musiva opera illustrantur.—J. G. Müller: Die bildlichen Darstellungen im Sanctuarium der christlichen Kirchen vom fünften bis vierzehnten Jahrhundert. Trier, 1835.

churches erected after the model of ancient buildings—consisted of a principal oblong space, the nave, to which in general were attached side-aisles, and which was terminated by a spacious semi-domed recess [the *apsis*, also called the tribune]. In front of this recess stood the altar; the *apsis* consequently formed the most sacred part of the building and was always richly ornamented, even when other parts were comparatively plain. The figure of Christ (seldom that of the Virgin) was represented in the upper part of the recess, with the apostles and other saints at his side, all of gigantic size; a hand generally appears above Christ (the almighty power of the Father), holding a crown over his head. Underneath, on a narrower division, stands the Lamb of the Revelation, with twelve sheep (representing the disciples); above and on each side the arch which terminates the recess, there are generally representations from the Apocalypse, alluding to the advent of the Lord; in the centre frequently the Lamb on the throne, and near it the symbols of the evangelists, the seven candles, the four-and-twenty elders, who raise their arms in adoration toward the Lamb, etc. In the larger Basilicas, where a transept is introduced before the recess, it is divided from the nave by a large arch, called the Arch of Triumph; in this case the subjects from the Apocalypse were generally represented on the arch.

Thus the peculiar symbolical element which we find 3 to be almost universal in the examples previously described, is here only employed in subordinate situations; the figures in the principal part of the *apsis* having no other signification than that which they directly express.

Yet as no particular moment or action is represented, their attitudes and gestures must still be considered symbolical: when Christ holds in his left hand the open Gospel, and raises the right to bless, this denotes only his holy attributes; he is the Blesser, the Saviour. When the apostles and saints bear in one hand a scroll, or other symbol of the kind, and with the other point to Christ, this expresses only their dependence on him. A solemn tranquillity is the prevailing character of these forms; their colossal size awakens a feeling of awe: the ideal drapery, with its measured folds, gives the impression of an elevated nature, unruffled by earthly passion. Individual life is indeed wanting, and they appear still more defective in execution than the works of an earlier period; the most defective are those which belong to the eighth and ninth centuries, the last of the period before alluded to. It must be observed, however, with respect to this execution, that where the conventional representations of the Bible saints were already established as prototypes in the earliest centuries of Christian art, they were always imitated, and thus it is only the representations of later received saints which betray the real degeneracy and rudeness of the corresponding period. The last are distinguished by a barbarous costume, highly unfavourable to the purposes of art, while in the former the grand drapery of classic antiquity is often preserved.

4 A very remarkable exception to this general character of the old mosaics, is to be found in those of the nave of Sta Maria Maggiore at Rome. They represent in a number of small compartments *historical scenes* from the Old Testament; on one side, from the life of Abra-

ham, Isaac and Jacob; on the other, from that of Moses and Joshua; they belong probably to the fifth century, and are expressly referred to in the well-known controversies on image worship in the eighth, as already existing. Here and there they have been restored in modern times, and the deficiencies made good by painting.

Next to Rome, the old churches at Ravenna are particularly rich in mosaics of this time.

§ VIII. In connection with the mosaics, we may consider the art of miniature painting, which embellished the books employed in the service of the church; the most remarkable work of the kind is a parchment *volumen* more than thirty feet in length, preserved in the library of the Vatican; it represents the principal events of the book of Joshua. In this specimen we have a fully developed style of historical painting, occasionally exhibiting such peculiar animation, intentions so powerfully expressed, and so much general feeling for form, that we are constrained to refer the designs to the earliest period of Christian antiquity, and to suppose that they are also greatly indebted to the influence of ancient art; the more so, as the costume and arms, the various personifications of cities, rivers, mountains, etc., appear to owe their origin to the antique. Even in this case, these miniatures can be but copies of more ancient works, for, besides the defective drawing in the joints of the hands and feet, the writing found with them belongs to a later time*.

* See S. D'Agincourt: Histoire de l'Art par les Monumens, etc. Peinture, tabb. 28–30. C. F. — Rumohr: Italienische Forschungen, i. 166.

Toward the end of the eighth and in the ninth century, the school of miniature painters became very important, and appears to have been particularly patronized by the Carlovingian emperors. To this period be-
2 long the embellishments of the large manuscript Bible formerly preserved in S^to^ Paolo fuori le Mura, in Rome, (at present in S^to^ Calisto, in Trastevere,) and written by command of Charlemagne *. Also the illuminated
3 gospel of Lothaire, in the library at Paris †; and that of
4 Charles the Bold, formerly in St. Emmeram at Ratisbon, now in the Royal Library at Munich ‡. Although the figures in these works are very rude and coarse, both in the drawing and painting, still we are reminded of the technical peculiarities of classic antiquity, by the thicker application of the colour before alluded to, a mode of execution which was wholly lost in the succeeding period. Even the drawing contains some traces of the antique taste, especially in the likenesses of the emperors which adorn the first pages of the manuscript; in these, a peculiar grandeur in the attitude, and in the folds of the drapery, cannot be mistaken.

§ IX. In these paintings we discern the last ray of the most ancient Christian art. In Italy, by the war with the Greeks, and the dominion of the Lombards and Carlovingians, all existing relations were dissolved; the greatest disorder prevailed both in public and private life, and art was entirely extinguished. For we cannot

* D'Agincourt, Peinture, tt. 40–45.

† Dibdin: a Biographical, Antiquarian, etc. Tour in France and Germany, ii. 156, 163.

‡ Colomann. Sanftl.: Diss. in aureum SS. Evangeliorum Codicem MS. Monast. S. Emmerami.

dignify with the name of Art the few works of the Italians of the tenth and eleventh centuries, in which we find the last degree of disproportion, awkwardness and uncertainty in the forms, which are only partially filled in with coarse daubs of colour*.

§ X. In the Byzantine empire, on the contrary, art 1
was still exercised in order to support the splendour of the court and church. The Byzantines had preserved the early style of art, first formed in Christian Rome, and retained with it some dexterity of hand: by their means these qualities were again communicated to that new life which had awakened in the West, particularly in Italy, in the thirteenth century. It must not, however, be forgotten, that this style, like the ceremonial life of the Byzantines themselves, was a spiritless convention, and that the mere outward and lifeless form of the earlier creations had been alone preserved; but in this form had once existed the expression of a sincere and deep feeling; it was still capable of receiving a new inspiration, and of thus guiding the feeling of the artist into a worthier path.

The representations of Byzantine art are thus for 2
the most part actual copies of then existing works, handed down from a better time; some of them may be traced back even to classical antiquity (particularly the representations of allegorical figures), and not unfrequently contain very significant and clever *motives*†.

* See Rumohr, Italienische Forschungen, i. 240–249.

† [This word, familiar as it is in the technical phraseology of other languages, is not yet generally adopted in our own, and hence

But the particular knowledge of nature, that is of the human form, is entirely wanting; this is apparent in the drawing of the naked, and in the folds of drapery, which follow no law of form, but succeed each other in stiff lines, sharp and parallel. The heads do not want character, but the expression is not merely defective,—they have in common something of a spectral rigidity, indicating, in its type-like sameness, a dull, servile constraint. The figures are long and meagre in their proportions, and so lifeless in their movements, that they set at defiance even the common law of gravity, and appear to totter on level ground. The grand *motives*, which in spite of all these defects, appear in many of the Byzantine works, are again wholly wanting (as in the instance of the Roman mosaics) in the designs of a later time. In these the total absence of form and action, and the overloading with tawdry oriental ornaments, betray an utter inca-

some apology may be necessary for employing it as above. It may often be rendered *intention*, but has a fuller meaning. In its ordinary application, and as generally used by the author, it means the principle of action, attitude and composition in a single figure or group; thus it has been observed, that in some antique gems which are defective in execution, the *motives* are frequently fine. Such qualities in this case may have been the result of the artist's feeling, but in servile copies like those of the Byzantine artists the *motives* could only belong to the original inventor. In its more extended signification the term comprehends invention generally, as distinguished from execution. Another very different and less general sense in which this expression is also used, must not be confounded with the foregoing; thus a *motive* is sometimes understood in the sense of a *suggestion*. It is said, for example, that Poussin found the *motives* of his landscape compositions at Tivoli. In this case we have a *suggestion* improved and carried out; in the copies of the Byzantine artists we have *intentions* not their own, blindly transmitted.—ED.]

pacity for original productions. The representations of later saints belong to this period, and in particular that of the Virgin and Child. We have also to mention here a mode of representing the crucified Saviour, likewise introduced later, and in itself sufficiently characteristic of Byzantine art. In the examples to which we refer, he appears as if sinking under his tortures; the head hanging down, the knees relaxed, and the body swollen and swayed to one side; while the Italian pictures of the same subject represent him in an upright position, victorious over bodily suffering.

In the Byzantine paintings, both in larger works and manuscript miniatures, the execution is generally distinguished by extreme finish, though not by particular harmony of colour. A prevailing greenish-yellow dull tone is peculiar to them; this has been attributed to a more tenacious vehicle* which has also produced a streakiness in the application of the pigment; another peculiarity is the frequent use of gold, particularly in the grounds, which are entirely gilt. This was not the case with the early Italians, who also made use of a lighter and more fluid vehicle†.

So long as the seeming life of the eastern empire 3

* [*Bindemittel.*—The technical term for the more or less fluid medium, of whatever kind, with which the colours are mixed, or which serves to dilute them. The two *vehicles* described by an early Florentine painter, Cennini (Trattato della Pittura, p. 70.), and which are known to have been very anciently used, would quite account for the difference above alluded to. The Greek paintings on panel were partly done with wax, if an analysis recorded by Morrona (Pisa Illustrata) was accurate. See Rumohr, Ital. Forsch. i. 312. —Ed.]

† Rumohr, Ital. Forsch. i. 296.

lasted, and even to our times, the Greeks have continued to paint in the manner above described, without receiving any other impressions from Italy, except perhaps such as were merely superficial, and combining these with their own style. In later times, however, many commissions from Greece were executed in Italy; in these the general Greek type and colour only were preserved, united with the more animated *motives* of the newly-formed style of art.

4 The church painting of Russia is a branch of the same highly finished but spiritless style.

[In perusing the foregoing pages, in which the styles of imitation during centuries more or less barbarous have been briefly but correctly described, some readers may have been reminded of Walpole's observations on the comparative claims of nations to "antiquity of ignorance." Could some of the specimens which have been referred to be presented to view, it might at first be matter of surprise that they should be deemed worthy of a critical examination. The historian, however, regards the productions of every age with interest, because he connects them with the habits, the manners, and the religion of the people. It is curious in this view to compare the remarks of contemporary writers with the general character of the specimens that have been described. In the fourth century, when classic art was fast hastening to its extinction, the opinions of the Fathers of the Church on beauty, on the powers and perfection of imitation, are expressed in language not unworthy of the most tasteful ages of Greece. The effect of the works of art produced at the same period was even great. Asterius, bishop of Amasia in the fourth century, describes with great unction a painting of the martyrdom of St. Euphemia; and St. Gregory of Nyssa was affected to tears by a picture representing the sacrifice of Isaac. Even in the darker ages the same language was employed, and the same effects witnessed. In the tenth century St. Nicon adorned a church in the neighbourhood of Sparta with paintings, which were described as being "equal to the most perfect

works of Zeuxis and Polygnotus;" and Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, soon after the Conquest, decorated his cathedral with paintings, the skilful treatment of which, according to William of Malmesbury, "rapiebat animos." (See Münter, Sinnbilder, etc., and Emeric David, Discours Historiques sur la Peinture Moderne.) Thus the absolute merit or demerit of works of art is not, in the historian's eyes, the sole ground of interest, and a gallery of painting should, if possible, contain specimens of every remarkable period of art. In our own country, even the works of the Italians before Raphael have been hitherto scarcely considered worthy of attention, but this indifference to the early progress of imitation, and to the historical associations connected with it, is happily fast disappearing.—Ed.]

BOOK II.

FIRST STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT.

MASTERS OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

1 § XI. From the wild ferments of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, the Italian free states and governments had emerged with fresh life and vigour, and, during the wars against the emperor Frederic I. in the second half of the twelfth century, had advanced to a consciousness of their own independence. Of this we have sufficient evidence in the vast cathedrals which everywhere arose, as if in exulting emulation. The time had arrived when the desire for works of imitative art should likewise awaken and produce its gladdening fruits.

2 At first, indeed, owing to the utter decline of native art, Byzantine artists were principally employed, Byzantine models chiefly followed. Thus the Italians commenced by repeating the ancient traditional types, with which we have become familiar in the preceding Book. The conquest and pillage of Constantinople by the Latins, in the year 1204, gave an important impulse to the transplanting of Byzantine works, as well as Byzantine artists, into Italy. But the universal stimulus of life soon extended itself to the regions of Art; here too, as elsewhere, individuality of character was required, to breathe a new life into in-

animate form, and modify it in accordance with the demands of the age.

§ XII. Even before the conquest of Constantinople, 1
Venice, which stood in closest alliance with the East, appears to have taken the lead in the intercourse with Byzantine artists. On the ceiling and upper walls of St. Mark's, which was built quite in the mediæval Greek style, are a number of mosaics on a gold ground, executed in the severest Byzantine manner, certainly not later than the twelfth century: the subjects are from the New Testament. The mosaics, on the contrary, on the vaults and lunettes of the vestibule which surrounds the church, representing scenes from the Old Testament, from the Creation to Moses, already exhibit indications of an active and original mind, in the improved drawing and greater freedom of movement in the figures; they show also a new and intelligent study of antique models, particularly in the Angels employed in the works of Creation (the Elohim ?), which remind us forcibly of the antique figures of Victory. Similar characteristics also occur in representations belonging to the revival of Art in the thirteenth century*. To these belong the mo- 2
saics on the cupola of the octagon chapel of St. John

* List of the Mosaics in the Porch, in the Tübinger Kunstblatt, 1821, Nos. 32, 33. Rumohr is of opinion that these mosaics, as well as the porch itself, belong to the time of the Greek Exarchs of the sixth and seventh centuries; but it is not probable that the porch is older than the rest of the building, and there are peculiarities in the mosaics themselves (such as, that the figures are not all on white grounds, that all middle-age costumes are not avoided) which contradict the hypothesis of Rumohr. See Ital. Forsch. i. 175.

(the Baptistery) at Florence, which, with the general Byzantine type, here and there exhibit well-intended actions in the figures, nearly allied to classic art. They are in different compartments; in the uppermost are represented hosts of angels, in the second the history of the Creation, in the third the life of Joseph, in the fourth the life of Christ, in the fifth the life of John the Baptist, and over the principal chapel is a gigantic figure of Christ. Andrea Tafi, assisted by Grecian masters, is
3 named as the artist. A large mosaic, on the front of the Duomo* or cathedral of Spoleto, representing the Saviour enthroned with the Virgin and St. John beside him, repeats the usual Byzantine type, with peculiar grandeur and dignity; it is inscribed with the date 1207, and the name of the master, Solsernus†.

Many examples of the same newly awakened spirit occur in the department of painting, properly so called,
4 as well as in the art of mosaic. The paintings in the Baptistery at Parma are among the most important of the older works of this kind, particularly those in the cupola, which were executed probably about the year 1230. They are in three compartments: in the uppermost are the Apostles and the symbols of the Evangelists; under these, the Prophets and other characters of the Old Testament (in a niche, Christ with the Virgin and John the Baptist); in the third row, between

* [The Italian term is generally preferred in speaking of Italian cathedrals, as we associate with the English denomination a style of architecture generally very different from that of the churches in the South of Europe.—ED.]

† Rumohr in the Tüb. Kunstbl. 1821, No. 9, with an engraving; and Ital. Forsch. i. 332.

the windows, are twelve scenes from the life of John the Baptist, and two saints next each window. In these we also find all the hardness of execution which characterizes the Byzantine style, united with a powerful and lively colouring, and an impassioned vehemence in the movements, which is carried even to exaggeration. The figure of an angel, which is frequently repeated, seems scarcely to touch the ground, so rapid is the action; the disciples going to meet John in the wilderness appear in the greatest haste; the gestures of John while baptizing, those of the imploring sick, of the disciples when their master is taken prisoner, of the soldier who acts as executioner, all appear to be the productions of a fancy which delighted in the most vehement and excited action. This energy manifests itself also in attitudes of repose, particularly in the noble dignity of Daniel, and the two prophets beside him. In these works we see the first violent effort of a youthful and vigorous fancy endeavouring to bend to its purposes the still lifeless form with which it had to deal*.

Not so remarkable, in regard to this inward life, are the acknowledged works of two celebrated artists of the time. The first is Guido da Siena, by whom there 5
is a large Madonna in S^to^ Domenico at Siena, (in the second chapel on the left) inscribed with the name of the master and the date 1221. The style of this painting is still perfectly Byzantine, but is not without dignity, and a peculiar *naïveté* in the attitude of the principal figure†. The second is Giunta da Pisa, whose 6

* Kugler in the Tüb. Kunstblatt, 1827, Nos. 6–8.

† S. d'Agincourt, Peinture, t. 107. Kugler, Tüb. Kunstblatt.

name, with the date 1236, was inscribed on a picture of the Crucifixion now lost, formerly in the church of S^to^ Francesco at Assisi. Among the existing works ascribed to him (not indeed on sufficient grounds) may
7 be mentioned, besides a crucifix in S^to^ Ranieri, a pic-
8 ture with saints in the chapel of the Campo Santo at Pisa, and particularly some paintings in the upper
9 church of S^to^ Francesco at Assisi, forming the decorations round the window behind the altar. Although the mind of the artist does not appear to have been of a very high order, he had a pure feeling for form and a lively colour, such as are found in the works of the genuine Byzantines*.

§ XIII. It has been already mentioned, that in those works which distinguished the revival of Art, we find here and there attitudes and intentions which have some affinity with the taste of classic antiquity. This is still more striking in other works which belong to a

1827, No. 47. Rumohr, Ital. Forsch., i. 334. The picture has been partly restored and painted upon, but in the angels and upper corners the old execution is quite visible. The inscription contains the following playful verse:

"Me Guido de Senis diebus depinxit amoenis
Quem Christus lenis nullis velit angere poenis."

* Kugler, Tüb. Kunstblatt, 1827, Nos. 26, 27. [The lively or rather gaudy colour to which the author alludes, sometimes occurs in the draperies of the Byzantines, but never in the flesh-tints. Some miniature illuminations of the eleventh century may be quoted as examples. See Dr. Waagen, Kunstwerke, &c., in Paris, 1839, p. 226. Rumohr (Ital. Forschungen, ii. 4) is of opinion that neither of the two painters above mentioned equalled their Byzantine models.—ED.]

later period of the thirteenth century. We recognize in them a more earnest and extended study of the antique, which introduced a corresponding purity of form, with a consequent closer observation of nature, and which taught the artist how to feel and embody anew the traditional grandeur which existed in the works of the Byzantines. The artist in whose productions this study is most decidedly visible, who exercised the greatest influence in its extension, and who takes the first place amongst the masters of the century, is the sculptor Nicola Pisano—an artist, whose perfection would be incomprehensible, if, in addition to all the favourable circumstances before alluded to, we omitted duly to appreciate the power of genius. For the rest, this revival of the antique spirit in Italian art is in accordance with the general philosophic and political tendencies of the time. Though of necessity less striking than in the efforts of sculpture, the same tendency may be traced in the works of the painters who flourished at the end of the thirteenth and the first years of the following century.

§ XIV. The first among these is the Florentine Giovanni, of the noble family of Cimabue, who, according to Vasari, was born in the year 1240, and appears to have died soon after 1300. Among the works ascribed with the greatest probability to him are two large Madonnas in Florence. The earlier one, formerly in Sta Trinità, and now preserved in the Academy, (with some grand figures of prophets and patriarchs introduced in the lower part) is still closely allied to the Byzantine

2 style*. The later one is in Sta Maria Novella in the south chapel of the transept; in this, angels are represented kneeling on each side of the Madonna; the frame of the picture is ornamented with small medallions, in which are introduced heads of saints. This painting, on the whole, still follows the Byzantine arrangement, but already employs it with artist-like freedom; for the drawing is improved by the study of nature, and the painting, unlike the Byzantine manner, is uncommonly soft†. The infant Christ on the lap of the Madonna is very successful, as are some of the medallions, particularly those in which the artist was not condemned to follow the barbarous types of the immediately preceding centuries, and in which the traditional representations of the earlier Christian ages allowed greater freedom of conception. It is said that this picture, when finished, was carried from the house of the artist to the church amid festal pomp and great rejoicings.

3 Very similar in style to this work, and apparently by the same hand, is a colossal St. Peter enthroned, with two angels, in S^to Simone at Florence, over a neglected altar in a dark passage between the church and sacristy‡.

4 The greater part of the large mosaic which adorns the chief tribune of the Duomo at Pisa, representing the Saviour, in colossal size, with John the Baptist and the Madonna beside him, was executed, according

* An engraving of it is given in Riepenhausen's Geschichte der Malerei, i. 6.

† Engravings in Riepenhausen, Gesch. der Mal. i. 7; and d'Agincourt, Peinture, pl. 108. Engravings of two of the medallions in Tüb. Kunstbl. 1821, No. 9.

‡ E. Förster, Beiträge zur neuern Kunstgesch. p. 101.

to authentic documents, by Cimabue, toward the close of his life. Here, however, the artist appears to have been fettered by the prescribed types of the church*.

§ XV. The great talents of Cimabue are exhibited in 1 fullest development in the large frescos ascribed to him in the upper church of S^to^ Francesco at Assisi. The decoration of this church must be regarded as one of the most important circumstances in the historical development of modern painting. The church itself is remarkable in the history of architecture, having been erected by foreign artists in the first half of the thirteenth century, in the Gothic style, which was then uncommon in Italy. The disposition of the building is also peculiar, two churches of almost equal extent being built one over the other; the under one formed originally the sepulchral church of St. Francis, the upper one alone was dedicated to the usual religious services of the monastery. The great veneration in which this holy place was held is evinced by the quantity of paintings with which the walls of the church were covered in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Already some Grecian masters, and after them, as is supposed, Giunta da Pisa, had executed considerable paintings, of which however but little can now be recognized. Cimabue was summoned to continue these works; what he may have painted in the under church, no longer exists; his works, too, in the choir and transept of the upper church are almost wholly obliterated: many important specimens are, however, still preserved†.

* Förster, Beiträge zur neuern Kunstgesch. p. 97, ff.

† The reasons given by Rumohr (Ital. Forsch. ii. 30.) to prove

2 To these belong the paintings ascribed to him on the vaulted roof of the nave. The roof consists of five square leading compartments, of which the first, third, and fifth are ornamented with figures, the second and fourth with gold stars on a blue ground. The first, over the choir, contains the four Evangelists, which are however almost obliterated. In the triangular spaces of the third compartment, separated from each other by the ribs of the vault, are medallions with figures of Christ, the Madonna, John the Baptist, and St. Francis. The character of these paintings is almost the same as in the above-mentioned altar-pictures; the countenance of the Virgin in particular has a close affinity to the Madonna of Sta Maria Novella. The ornaments which surround these medallions are, however, more interesting than the medallions themselves. In the lower corners of the triangles are represented naked genii, bearing tasteful vases on their heads; out of these grow rich foliage and flowers, on which hang other genii, who pluck the fruits or lurk in the cups of the flowers. In the free movements of these figures, and in the successful attempt (for such, as a first effort, it must be regarded) to express the *modelling* of the nal·ed form, we recognize a decided and not unsatisfactory approach to the antique. One of the figures has, in its attitude, a striking resemblance to the genii of classic art, as we find them commonly represented standing with a torch reversed on the side of sarcophagi; on the fifth arch are the four great doctors of the church: in these, however, some investigators re-

that the two Madonnas before mentioned are by the hand of Cimabue, appear to be equally applicable to these paintings at Assisi. See Kugler, Tüb. Kunstblatt, 1827, Nos. 28, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40.

cognize not the hand of Cimabue himself, but that of 2
an imitator.

Still more important are the paintings with which Ci- 3
mabue adorned the upper part of the walls of the nave in a line with the windows. On the left, looking from the choir, is represented the history of the Creation and of the Patriarchs of the Old Testament; on the right the Birth and Passion of Christ. Of the paintings still existing, the best are, Joseph with his Brethren, the Marriage at Cana, the Apprehension of Christ, and the Taking down from the Cross. These also still betray the Byzantine school; at the same time its stiff, lifeless, and repulsive peculiarities are in some degree avoided; the artist has succeeded in expressing the action of a single passing moment, in the grouping of the masses, and in the attitudes and gestures of the individual figures. It is true we recognize in these works—as in the cupola paintings in the Baptistery at Parma—the struggle in the mind of the artist, to give to traditional form the expression of a living intention: in this instance, however, the impassioned movement of the figures is happily tempered by an air of grandeur and dignity. But it is only to a certain extent that the artist has succeeded in carrying out this principle of animation in his figures; it is, in fact, only attained so far as it is necessary to the intelligible representation of a given event; all that belongs to a closer imitation of nature in her individual peculiarities, all that belongs to the conception of characteristic or graceful action, is still wanting. The form of the countenance is alike throughout, the expression as conveyed by mien always constrained.

Yet, notwithstanding all these defects, these works must be regarded as having been mainly instrumental in opening a new path to the free exercise of art.

4 The lower part of the walls of the nave, under the windows, contains in twenty-eight compartments events from the life of the saint to whom the church is dedicated. They are executed by different hands, and begin to exhibit the style of the fourteenth century in the general composition. From the frequent recurrence of some Byzantine characteristics, it appears however probable that they were done by scholars of Cimabue. We shall return to the most important (§ XX. 9.)*.

§ XVI. A general affinity with the style and aim of Cimabue, is observable in some mosaics executed by 1 contemporary artists—for example, in the mosaics of 2 the Tribunes of St. John Lateran and Sta Maria Maggiore in Rome, both inscribed with the name Jacobus Torriti ; the first represents various saints, the second the Coronation of the Virgin ;—and in those ascribed 3 to Gaddo Gaddi, a Coronation of the Virgin in the cathedral at Florence, over the principal door ;—various 4 scenes in the pediment (within the present vestibule) 5 of Sta Maria Maggiore at Rome ;—the Assumption of the Virgin, in the Duomo at Pisa, etc.—These works already exhibit an improved and more dignified style.

§ XVII. Another artist, whose manner resembles

* Compare Kugler, Tüb. Kunstbl. 1827, No. 42. Rumohr (Ital. Forsch. ii. 67.) ascribes almost the whole of these works to Parri Spinello, a master of the fifteenth century.

that of Cimabue, but in a far more developed form, is Duccio, the son of a Sienese citizen, Buoninsegna. According to existing documents, he was an established painter at Siena in the year 1282; in 1308 he undertook the execution of a large picture for the principal altar of the Duomo of that city, and finished it in 1311. This picture, the pride of Siena at the time of its completion, was carried (as has been related of Cimabue's Madonna) from the studio of the artist to the cathedral in festive procession. It still exists, inscribed with the name of the master, and is a surprisingly perfect example of the first style of modern painting. It was painted both on the front and back; the two sides were afterwards separated, and are now fixed on the walls of the church*.

We shall first describe the back, which contains, in from twenty to thirty compartments, small representations (the figures about nine inches high) from the Passion of Christ. Here we again find the general types of Byzantine art; but, penetrated with deep and lively feeling, here too, as in Cimabue, we recognize a grand and powerful intention in the movements; the artist's feeling is, however, more solemn, and aims more at harmonious arrangement. To these qualities are united a classic feeling for beauty, a winning *naïveté*, a masterly completion in the naked forms and drapery, such as could be little expected from the time. In the presence of this picture one might imagine that Duccio wanted but a few steps more to attain the summit of modern art. The skill with which he has divided

* Kugler in Tüb. Kunstblatt, 1827, Nos. 49-51.

the principal events of the Passion into so many single representations deserves particular attention; notwithstanding their dismemberment, each is richly filled with figures. The new and unexpected *motives* in the single figures and groups give evidence of a spirit of invention never at a loss, of a discretion always vigilant, of a penetration familiar alike with the signs and the sources of emotion. The artist seems, moreover, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of his subject, so that a power of individualizing even to the minutest detail is united with the purest general aim*.

We will examine one only of these numerous compositions more closely; it forms one of the larger compartments, and represents Christ's Entry into Jerusalem. The scene is laid near the gate; on the left, Jesus

* [The author's praises of this work seem, it must be confessed, to border on extravagance, and in some respects might rather belong to the age when Duccio's altarpiece was borne in solemn procession, than to the sober criticism of our own times. Della Valle (Lettere Sanesi), who was not disposed to underrate the productions of his countrymen, after saying that the picture was the best in Italy of its time, remarks generally that the manner was that of Guido da Siena, much softened and improved. In a more particular description of the smaller subjects, he observes that some of the inventions were repeatedly copied by later painters, and speaks highly of the expressions of the heads. The picture was covered with gilded ornaments, and, according to documents still existing, cost 3000 gold florins. Vasari's account of Duccio is unaccountably short and unsatisfactory, and moreover erroneous in dates; he says he never saw the altarpiece in question, and could not learn where it was! The negligence of the Florentine biographer has perhaps led modern writers into some little exaggeration in vindicating the fame of this remarkable painter, whose influence on the progress of Art in the fourteenth century was unquestionably great.—ED.]

rides on the ass; beside it is the foal. Behind are the Apostles, whose countenances, young and old, are full of energy: John is particularly distinguished by his beauty: their looks, directed to the people, appear to say, "Behold, we bring you your king!" Jesus himself, with a dignified and serious expression, not unmixed with sadness, his right hand elevated, appears to utter his words of woe over the city. Above him men are plucking branches from the trees. From the battlements of Jerusalem, and the garden-walls beneath the city, a multitude of men, women, and children look on with serious faces, but evident sympathy. A crowd of people precede the Saviour: some look round, and, with an expression of the deepest reverence, spread their garments on the way; others bear branches before him; others, carried forward against their will, endeavour to look back at their king, as well as the pressure will permit. In short, such a crowd is depicted in so small a space, each figure acts its part so well, not merely in body but in sympathy of soul, that it would be difficult to find anything similar in the productions of painting. At the gates stand the Scribes and Pharisees, some of whom are offended at the triumph of their adversary, and appear consumed with envy; others wonder, with uplifted hands, at his unheard-of temerity; on the countenances of others may be read a malicious confidence, as if they already believed him in their power. As this representation interests by the well-expressed variety and contradictory emotions of an agitated crowd, there are others, such as Christ taking leave of his Disciples, his Prayer on the Mount of Olives, etc. in which

the interest lies in the calm stillness of repressed sorrow and deep emotion of soul.

The portion which once formed the front of this altar-piece contains larger figures: a Madonna and Child, surrounded by Saints. The heads are of the most graceful forms, and are also distinguished, particularly those of the men, by a very faithful imitation of nature. In the draperies we observe, combined with the Byzantine manner, an approach to that peculiar flow of line which became the nearly universal style in the course of the fourteenth century.

2 In the Sacristy there is a series of small pictures, which also appear to be by Duccio; there are besides several 3 in the Sienese Academy which have been ascribed to the same artist. Among these, a large work, the principal subject of which is the Adoration of the Shepherds, appears to be attributed to him on good grounds*.

* According to Rumohr (Ital. Forsch. ii. 11.) these were the frame-work and upper portion of the great altarpiece.

BOOK III.

SECOND STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT.

MASTERS OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY AND THEIR FOLLOWERS.

INTRODUCTION.

§ XVIII. It has been already remarked, that, in the works of Duccio, Art had so nearly attained its perfection, that but a short interval appeared necessary to add all that it still required; yet whole centuries separated the productions in question from the period when modern art attained its highest development. A phenomenon so striking could only be owing to a combination of peculiar circumstances; these we shall endeavour to explain.

In the revival of Art, the chief aim of the artist was the intelligible expression of the *theme** he had to treat;

* [The word *theme* (Gegenstand) is preferred in this instance to the more obvious term *subject*, for reasons which it may be as well to state, for though they relate to a distinction which is familiar to many, they may serve to throw some light on the views of the author which follow. In considering the productions of human genius, the Germans always carefully distinguish between the objects or materials on which the mind works, and the manifestation of the individual mind in treating them. The general term *object*, for the first, would be intelligible enough in our language; on the other hand, the word *subject*, which the Germans restrict to the *observer*, to the *individual*, is less appropriate in English without some explanation. In the German sense the *subject* is the human being, the *object* all that is without him. When the tone or tendencies of the individual mind very perceptibly modify

to seize this characteristically, to represent it faithfully, to give it animation, was his highest ambition. To this end his creative power was as yet almost exclusively devoted; and if at times the mind of the *individual* was in some degree apparent, as in certain impassioned representations that have been described *, this may have been rather from external causes of excitement peculiar to the period, than from an inly-felt necessity to express the character and feelings through the medium of the incident represented.

It appears at first sight, that such a distinction between the theme itself and the manifestation of the individual mind in treating it, is inadmissible,—that the repose of a work of art would be destroyed by such a disunion; and such in fact is the case: but out of this disunion a new and closer alliance was to arise.

This separation and union have their foundation in the very essence of Christianity, which recognizes no independent value in the world and its phenomena, but represents the world as alienated from the Divine Spirit —alienated, yet, conscious of its state, ever seeking to

the nature of the materials with which it has to deal, this is called a *subjective* mode of conception or treatment. When, on the other hand, the character of the individual is comparatively passive, and that of the *object* chiefly apparent, this is called an *objective* mode. Hence, whenever this distinction is dwelt on, and whenever the adoption of this terminology is unavoidable, it is obvious that the word *subject* in its usual English meaning (as for instance in speaking of the subject of a picture) requires to be carefully avoided. Where, however, the distinction alluded to is not immediately prominent, the word is employed in this translation in the usual sense. —ED.]

* [Those for example in the Baptistery at Parma.—ED.]

return. It was for the artist to express this relation, this tendency to reconciliation, between the earthly, the transitory, and the spiritual and eternal.

In the first exercise of Art among the Christians, this contrast was already apparent; but we have before remarked that the form it then assumed was merely external. In the further development of Art, an arbitrary symbolization was no longer sufficient; the representation itself was required to be at once symbol and meaning.

Above all it became necessary that the creating artist should appear more definitely in his own individual character. It was from his *consciousness* only that this relation between the earthly form and the unearthly spirit could be made evident; only when the representation was the result of original conception, could the spiritual meaning be freely expressed.

Thus the end, in which the perfection of Art was to consist, was again thrown far in advance, and only to be attained after many successive æras of development. Thus, too, it was at first necessary that a *subjective* tendency should establish itself exclusively, that the separation above alluded to should be distinctly defined, before the alliance of the opposing principles could be attempted. And indeed this new subjective direction was at first so decidedly prevalent, and in some respects so exclusive, that many of the qualities previously acquired were suffered to remain neglected, and the influence would scarcely be exempt from the reproach of having caused some retrogradation, if under the circumstances such a judgement did not appear equally par-

tial. In fact, the mental bias in question stood in the closest relation to all the tendencies of the period, when the so-named romantic principle had attained its highest development: art and poetry, monastic life and chivalry, the homage to saints and the homage to beauty, all the forms of life, bore the same stamp, and constituted in their harmony a wondrous and peculiar whole.

§ XIX. We shall now consider the next succeeding period of modern Art, in which this subjective mode of conception prevails. Tuscany, that tract of Italy to which the greatest names of the preceding period had belonged, still maintains the first place during this new period. Two principal tendencies are to be distinguished in this stage of the progress of Art; they are identified with the opposite characteristics, which must always exist in the subjective mode of conception. In the one the intellect predominates, in the other the feelings; the former seeks to embody its conceptions or presentiments of things not finite in visible appearances; the aim of the latter, on the contrary, is to give a higher sanction to the objects of the material world through the influence of a holier feeling*. The first may be compared in some degree to didactic poetry, and displays itself more or less in allegorical representations, sometimes over-refined and insipid, sometimes profound in meaning and imaginative: the latter is completely lyric, and communicates to its productions the predominating expression of a peculiar tone of mind. The

* Compare A. W. Schlegel, Ueber dramatische Kunst und Litteratur, i. 25.

first direction was more especially that of the Florentine artists, the second that of the Sienese.

It must, however, be borne in mind that this line of separation is *decidedly* visible in a few cases only, that it is frequently modified by external circumstances, and that each of the tendencies in question exercises a reciprocal influence on the other.

CHAPTER I.

TUSCAN SCHOOLS. GIOTTO * AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

§ XX. At the head of the didactic or allegorical style [1] stands Giotto, the son of Bondone: he was born in the

* [The great revolution which Giotto effected, and the long-enduring influence of his example, have been recorded by every historian of art, without any disposition to question his claims to fame. The only points on which these historians are not quite in accordance, are the definition of his style, and the nature and extent of the innovations he introduced. The allegorical tendency on which the author lays so much stress, remarkable as it is, is far from being an essential characteristic of Giotto, but might rather be traced to the accidental influence of his friendship with Dante, and to the spirit of the age. It may be observed generally that the habitual employment of allegory can only in strictness be said to characterize an epoch, not an individual; for a system of conventional personification must of necessity be the gradual result of a general understanding and common education. The formative arts which are immediately intelligible (inasmuch as they are imitative) would be the last to abandon this privilege for arbitrary forms, if those forms had not in some sort supplied the place of nature. To come to those qualities which appear to have been essentially original in Giotto, we observe that his invention is mainly distinguished from the ear-

year 1276, at Vespignano, in the neighbourhood of Florence, and died in that city in 1336. It is said that he was originally a shepherd boy, that he was discovered drawing a sheep upon a slate by Cimabue, who took him home and gave him instruction in painting. His contemporaries all record his fame: the greatest of them, Dante, thus speaks of him in the Divina Commedia (Purgatorio, xi. 94):—

Credette Cimabue nella pittura
Tener lo campo: ed ora ha Giotto il grido,
Sicchè la fama di colui oscura*.

---

lier productions by the introduction of natural incidents and expressions, by an almost modern[a] richness and depth of composition, by the dramatic interest of his groups, and by a general contempt for the formal and servile style of his predecessors. This last circumstance is partly to be explained (as Rumohr sufficiently proves in an inquiry into the personal character of Giotto, Ital. Forsch. ii. p. 55) by a total absence of the superstitious enthusiasm of the time.

The minor peculiarities are in like manner all diametrically opposed to the preceding practice. The "spectral stare" of the earlier painters is changed to half-closed eyes, unnaturally long in shape, the dark colour of the Byzantines to a delicate and even pale carnation. It is unnecessary to anticipate the author's just remarks on other particulars.

The pale colour of Giotto was the most unfortunate of his innovations, for it was adopted by the Florentines for more than a century after him. Leon Battista Alberti (Della Pittura e della Statua, lib. ii.), even in the fifteenth century, appears to have regretted the prevalence of this taste, for he remarks that it would be well for Art if white paint was dearer than gems.—Ed.]

* "Cimabue thought
To lord it over painting's field; and now
The cry is Giotto's, and his name eclipsed."
Cary's Translation.

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[a] "The *modern* manner" is Vasari's term for the perfection of the art in the hands of Raphael, Titian, etc.

His influence was not confined to Florence, nor the neighbouring parts of Tuscany. The whole of Italy, from Padua and Verona to Gaeta and Naples, is indebted to him for various works and a new impulse in Art; he even followed Clement V. to Avignon, and is said to have executed many pictures there, and in other cities of France. Popes and princes, cities and eminent monasteries, vied in giving him honourable commissions, and were proud in the possession of his works. Giotto was not a painter only; his name is also mentioned with honour in the history of architecture; the beautiful Gothic campanile or bell-tower adjoining the Duomo of Florence was his design; the foundation was laid and the building executed under his direction. Sculpture too he practised with considerable success: not only the drawings for the greater part of the statues which adorn the tower, but many of the statues themselves, were the work of his hand.

Of the works of Giotto, a great number have disappeared, and of those which exist few that are accredited from the circumstance of bearing his name are of much value. We shall first direct our attention to those which afforded opportunity for the development of the peculiar views to which we have alluded. Here we must consider more particularly the relation in which Dante's great poem stood to the efforts of Art in his time, since in it we find this allegorical mode of conception expressed in its grandest form, and the approbation with which it was received and diffused must have given a fresh impulse to the prevailing taste. There are even contemporary works of art, the subjects of which are taken directly from the poem.

2 Among these is one of the best works of Giotto; it is in the under church of S^to^ Francesco at Assisi over the sepulchre of the saint. In the four triangular compartments of the groined vault, the painter has represented the three vows of the Order [Poverty, Chastity and Obedience] and the glorification of the saint. The first vow is that of Poverty, in which he has evidently followed the allegory of the poet, who in the eleventh book of the Paradiso thus speaks of St. Francis:

Che fu tal donna giovinetto in guerra
Del padre corse, a cui, com' alla morte,
La porta del piacer nessun disserra:
E dinanzi alla sua spirital corte,
Et coram patre le si fece unito,
Poscia di dì in dì l'amò più forte.
Questa, privata del primo marito,
Mille e cent' anni, e più dispetta e scura
Fino a costui si stette senza invito:
* * * * * *
Ma perch' io non proceda troppo chiuso;
Francesco e Povertà per questi amanti
Prendi oramai nel mio parlar diffuso.
La loro concordia, e i lor lieti sembianti
Amore e maraviglia, e dolce sguardo
Faceano esser cagion de' pensier santi*.

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* "A dame, to whom none openeth pleasure's gate
More than to death, was, 'gainst his father's will,
His stripling choice: and he did make her his,
Before the spiritual court, by nuptial bonds,
And in his father's sight: from day to day,
Then loved her more devoutly. She, bereav'd
Of her first husband, slighted and obscure,
Thousand and hundred years and more, remain'd
Without a single suitor, till he came.
* * * * * * * *
But not to deal

This allegory has been copied, with some additional embellishment, by the painter. Poverty appears as a woman, whom Christ gives in marriage to St. Francis; she stands amongst thorns; in the foreground are two boys mocking her; on each side stand groups of angels as witnesses of the holy union. On the left, conducted by an angel, is a youth, who gives his garment to a poor man, after the example of the saint: on the right stand the rich and the great, who are invited by an angel to approach, but turn scornfully away. The other designs appear to be Giotto's own invention. Chastity, as a young woman, sits in a strong fortress, surrounded by walls and battlements; angels pay her homage. In the foreground a man is "washed with pure water," and thus spiritually baptized by angels; Purity and Strength greet him; hosts of mailed warriors stand around for the defence of the fortress. On one side appear laymen and churchmen led forward by St. Francis; on the other, Penance, habited as an anchoret, drives away earthly love and impurity. The allegory of Obedience is not so clear, and loses itself in arbitrary symbols. In the fourth representation St. Francis appears sitting on a rich throne, clothed in a deacon's robe* interwoven with gold, holding in his hands the cross and

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Thus closely with thee longer, take at large
The lovers' titles—Poverty and Francis.
Their concord and glad looks, wonder and love,
And sweet regard gave birth to holy thoughts."
Cary's Translation.

* He had remained a deacon out of a feeling of humility, and had never been consecrated as a priest.

the rules of his order. At his side are numerous hosts of angels, who proclaim the praises of the saint with songs and music. A tradition ascribes the designs of these paintings collectively to Dante, who was an intimate friend of the artist, and even recalls him from the other world to reveal them in a dream to the painter*.

3 In the Hall of the Podestà in Florence, Giotto painted the Commonwealth under the form of a judge, sitting with the sceptre in his hand, a pair of balanced scales over his head, and the virtues of fortitude, prudence, justice, and temperance at his side†.

4 For the ancient basilica of St. Peter at Rome he executed the celebrated mosaic of the *Navicella*, which has also an allegorical foundation. It represents a ship with the disciples, on an agitated sea; the winds, personified in human shape‡, storm against it; above appear

* A fuller description is given by a writer under the signature W. in the Tüb. Kunstblatt, 1821, Nos. 44, 45. Engravings in Fea, Descrizione della Basilica di S. Francesco d'Assisi.

† [Vasari states that Giotto painted in the chapel of the same Palazzo del Podestà the portraits of Dante, Brunetto Latini, Corso Donati, and others. He speaks of these works as the first successful attempts at portrait after the revival of art. The figures were plastered or whitewashed over, probably not long after they were done, during the triumph of the political enemies of Dante and his party. The hope of recovering these interesting works had long been entertained, and various unsuccessful attempts to that end had been made at different times; but it was reserved for the perseverance of Mr. Aubrey Bezzi, a zealous promoter of the interests of art and literature, to be at length instrumental in restoring these most valuable relics to light. The crust of plaster was removed, and the portraits discovered in good preservation, in July, 1840.—Ed.]

‡ [Rather as demons.—Ed.]

the Fathers of the Old Testament speaking comfort to the sufferers. According to the early Christian symbolization the ship denoted the Church. Nearer, and on the right, in a firm attitude, stands Christ, the Rock of the Church, raising Peter from the waves. Opposite sits a fisherman in tranquil expectation, denoting the hope of the believer. The mosaic has frequently changed its place, and has thus undergone so many restorations that the composition only can now be considered as belonging to Giotto. It adorns the vestibule of the present St. Peter's.

In the church of the Incoronata at Naples, Giotto painted the Seven Sacraments. In these pictures we no longer recognize the allegorical principle in which the representation and meaning are connected solely by an effort of the understanding: they represent actual situations of life, but in the *combination* of these a deeper meaning is expressed. For while they comprehend the whole life of man in the moments of his greatest joy and sorrow, they show also his constant relation to a higher, gracious Being, and the means appointed by the Church for the consecration of his earthly existence and purification from sin. These representations fill up one of the gothic groined vaults, the space being square in the plan. Two subjects are introduced into each of the four triangular compartments; the last, which makes up the eighth, contains an allegorical representation of the Church. We shall return to these paintings, the greater part of which are very well preserved *.

* The author has given a fuller account of these paintings in his periodical paper, "The Museum," 1835, Nos. 43 and 44.

6 To this last-named style belong also the numerous reliefs and statues which Giotto designed for the three lower divisions of the Campanile built by him at Florence. They too form a grand cycle, conceived with profound wisdom, and represent the development of human culture. A similar connection pervaded all the sculptural decorations with which Giotto had enriched the façade of the Duomo at Florence; these works, however, were destroyed by the civilized barbarism of later centuries*.

Of the historical paintings attributed to Giotto, very few remain; and, indeed, the greater part have of late been recognized as the work of other hands. The 7 best and most genuine are a series of small pictures which formerly adorned the press-doors in the sacristy of Santa Croce at Florence†. They represent events in the lives of Christ and St. Francis, in reference to each other,—a comparison which is only to be explained by the enthusiastic veneration in which St. Francis was then held (he was looked upon as the Second Angel of the Revelation). Even in these historical representations a principle of allusion may be traced, which betrays the predominant tendency so peculiar to the artist. There were originally twenty-six pictures; twenty only are at present in the collection of the Florentine Academy; two, of less interest, are in the Museum at Berlin.

We give the two series in their parallel arrangement

* E. Förster's Beiträge, p. 155, etc.: 152.

† Kubbeil: Studien nach altflorentinischen Meistern, v.–x. Riepenhausen, Gesch. der Malerei, ii. pl. 3–8.

although the reciprocal relation is not equally evident in all*.

* [The author appears to have taken his description of these subjects from Richa's "Notizie istoriche delle Chiese Fiorentine." No. 13 in the first series, and Nos. 6, 9 and 13 in the second, are the four that have disappeared. As the original number was only twenty-six, it is probable that the two in the Berlin Museum are the two Nos. 13; the subject of one of these being the Descent of the Holy Ghost. The other is a miracle wrought by St. Francis after his death: there can be little doubt that it was the original companion, and if so, Richa described the subject incorrectly; this is the more probable, as the second No. 11, which is still at Florence, is also incorrectly described.

The remote connection between the types and antitypes in subjects taken from the Old and New Testament, has been already adverted to. In the present extraordinary parallel the allusions are still more distant; an example or two may suffice.

1. The Visitation. In an edition of the Biblia Pauperum, in which this subject occurs (the figures in these books, it is to be remembered, are repeated from illuminated middle-age MSS.), the parallel subjects are Moses visited by Jethro, and the Levite visiting his father-in-law. St. Francis visits his spiritual father, who receives him with joy and hails the promise of his second birth.

3. The Magi (kings), instructed by a sign, pay homage to one in lowly state, who, as they believed, was to restore the supremacy of his nation. The pope, a sovereign, instructed by a dream, respects the claims of one in humble condition who was destined to support the declining authority of the church.

6. The Redeemer receives baptism from John. St. Francis seeks martyrdom (called the baptism of blood) at the hands of the Sultan. That he did not obtain this, his avowed object, was owing to no want of zeal or even provocation on his part. (See the Life of the Saint by S. Bonaventura.)

It is hardly necessary to add, that this parallel, which the author seems to attribute to the painter, and adduces as a proof of his love of allusion, is with far greater probability referable to the monkish inventions of the time.—ED.]

1. The Visitation.	1. St. Francis takes off his clothes in the presence of the bishop and returns them to his father.
2. The Birth of Christ.	2. The infant Christ appears to the saint on Christmas-eve.
3. The Adoration of the Kings.	3. St. Francis supports the falling building of the Lateran, according to a dream of the pope.
4. The Circumcision.	4. St. Francis kneels before the pope, to whom he presents the rules of his Order.
5. The Dispute with the Doctors.	5. St. Francis defends the rules.
6. The Baptism.	6. St. Francis preaching before the Sultan.
7. The Transfiguration.	7. St. Francis carried up in a chariot of fire.
8. The Last Supper.	8. St. Francis receiving the stigmata.
9. The Crucifixion.	9. The saint restores a man to life.
10. The Resurrection.	10. St. Francis appears to the assembled brethren.
11. The Appearance of Christ to the Marys.	11. A similar representation, in which, however, the monks fall prostrate with astonishment.
12. The Incredulity of Thomas.	12. The body of the saint being placed on a bier, a pious disciple examines the stigmata.
13. The Descent of the Holy Ghost.	13. One of the followers of the saint hangs himself like a second Judas.

8 The paintings on the walls of the SS. Annunziata dell' Arena at Padua may be mentioned next in order; the subjects were here required to be historical events from the Bible, yet allegorical allusions may still be traced.

These works quite cover the internal walls of a cha-

pel. They contain the lives of Christ, the Virgin, and St. Joseph, in about fifty squares, arranged in chronological order; those at the extreme ends are surrounded with tasteful ornaments by way of frame. The ground of the plain vault is blue, studded with golden stars; the roof is also adorned with heads of prophets, evangelists, and saints. The lower portions of the two side walls are finished with allegorical figures painted in chiaro-oscuro. The great wall over the entrance is filled with a representation of the Last Judgement. These grand works, although here and there defaced by modern restoration, are, in the most important parts, well preserved*.

Of the paintings on the lower part of the walls in the upper church of S^to^ Francesco at Assisi, representing 9
the life of the saint, some (from the scene in which St. Francis is entertained by the soldier of Celano, to the removal of his remains to Assisi) have been ascribed, not without probability, to Giotto, although this opinion has been much controverted†. On the wall of the refectory of Santa Croce at Florence, is a 10
large Last Supper; a subject frequently represented in those apartments, that it might stand at all times before the eyes of the assembled monks as the holiest love-feast. It is a grand and solemn work, and has till lately been considered as Giotto's; the truth of this opinion is now disputed‡. Of the History of Job,

* Tüb. Kunstblatt, 1826, No. 69. [Some examples in outline are given in Lady Callcott's interesting account of the Chapel.—Ed.]

† Tüb. Kunstblatt, 1827, No. 42. Two outlines in Riepenhausen, Gesch. der Malerei, ii. 11 and 12.

‡ Rumohr, Ital. Forsch. ii. 70. Compare F. Förster, in the (Ber-

which he was said to have painted, in the Campo Santo at Pisa, but which certainly belongs to a later master, we shall speak presently. (§§ 25, 16.)

The few existing altar-pictures of Giotto are less important than the above-mentioned works, although two of them are marked with the name of the master. One
11 is the Coronation of the Virgin, in Santa Croce at Florence* (in the Baroncelli or Giugni Chapel). Saints and a choir of angels with musical instruments, are represented on the folding side-panels. The other, a Ma-
12 donna, with saints and angels on the side-panels, was originally in Sta Maria degli Angeli at Bologna. The middle picture, which bears the inscription, is in the
13 gallery of the Brera at Milan; the side-panels are in the gallery of Bologna†.

14 . If we now examine the style and mode in which these works are executed, we remark, first, that the Byzantine manner is here entirely abandoned. There appears a peculiar flexibility in the movements, which in some is carried even to an excess of elegance, and is particularly observable in the flowing and long-drawn folds of the drapery. This last peculiarity is characteristic of the whole period. It recurs continually as an established type, but modified by the peculiarities of the more eminent masters: and as an architectural influence is

lin) Museum, 1833, No. 15, p. 117, and E. Förster, Beiträge, etc., p. 137, note. The Last Supper is engraved by Lasinio and by Ruscheweyh.

* Outlines in d'Agincourt, Peinture, pl. 114, Nos. 4, 5. E. Förster, Beiträge, pl. 4.

† Catalogo dei quadri, che si conservano nella Pinacoteca della P. Accademia delle Belle Arti in Bologna, p. 80.

everywhere visible in the measured forms of the severe style of drapery, we may place the above-mentioned treatment in close connexion with gothic architecture, to the character of which it corresponds universally, and with which it rose and declined. In his heads, Giotto frequently exhibits a peculiar and not very beautiful habitual form: the eyes are generally long and narrow, and very close to each other. In these newly-invented representations, founded on no ancient tradition, beauty was less his object than the expression of character, to make his inventions generally intelligible. Here and there, however, we find very graceful heads in his pictures, and the whole composition is always beautifully disposed in its masses. Where the subject required it, it is even treated in a peculiarly solemn, simple, harmonious manner. The execution in the detail is, it must be confessed, generally sketchy, and, as it were, suggestive; completeness was perhaps less essentially allied to his peculiar views as an artist. The vehicle he employed with his colours was more fluid than that hitherto used, it allowed a greater freedom of hand, and has also darkened but little with time.

We have observed that Giotto's compositions were often remarkable for truth of character; he attained this in so great a degree, that his contemporaries were astonished by the before unknown life of his representations. The most interesting examples of this element of his art are the above-mentioned Sacraments in the Incoronata at Naples. In these we not only find heads copied from life with the greatest fidelity, but also such a natural conception of particular situations as brings

the scene in complete distinctness before the spectator. We subjoin a description of some of them, as they are characteristic of Giotto's manner.

Confession*. Rich architecture in the Florentine gothic style, partly open. The priest sits in the confessional, listening with serious expressive mien; before him kneels a woman, at confession, with a troubled countenance; on the right, outside, are three penitents, who leave the church with measured steps. Their heads are concealed in black hoods, their arms, legs and backs naked. They are scourging themselves, and from the back of the foremost the blood is flowing: above, demons are seen flying away.

Holy Orders. Open Byzantine church architecture. In the vault of the tribune a mosaic is introduced,—Christ calling the two disciples, evidently as an emblem of the holy ceremony. In the church sits the pope under a canopy, several priests in rich dresses are at his side. He takes the hands of the young, timid priest who is about to be consecrated, and behind whom stand several priests and young choristers; in the foreground is a choir of ten singers, standing before a desk. Their careless attitudes, the straining action of the chanting, the varied expressions indicating the different intonations of voice, are all represented in the group, with the happiest and most pleasing *naïveté*: an angel hovers above on the left.

Marriage. A richly ornamented hanging in the back-ground, above which are small statues of *amorini*

* [More generally called Penance.—ED.]

with golden garlands. In the centre of the composition stand a princely pair; the bridegroom is putting the ring on the bride's finger; a priest behind them joins their hands. According to an old tradition, they are the founders of the church—Queen Joanna I. and Louis of Tarento; he has something of the Vandal in his physiognomy, and a red pointed beard; the queen has an extremely delicate refined character of face with light hair. Behind her stand a crowd of charming women, who are distinguished by their graceful heads and the pleasing *naïveté* of their attitudes. Behind the prince stand priests, etc.; behind these, some trumpeters blowing their trumpets with most amusing energy. The princely pair stand under a canopy, the poles of which are borne by two knights, and over them on each side an angel hovers. In the foreground, on the left, are seen a violin-player—his head bent very feelingly over his instrument—and a merry hautboy-player. Near them, knights and ladies with elegant movements perform a dance.

§ XXI. The most important of Giotto's scholars was Taddeo Gaddi, son of the before-mentioned Gaddo Gaddi. He was born in the year 1300, and was held at the baptismal font by Giotto. He attained his greatest celebrity about the middle of the fourteenth century. Examples are cited in the works of this artist, which show that he followed the general style of his master; he painted, for instance, an allegory in the tribunal of the Mercanzia Vecchia at Florence, in which Truth was represented taking out the tongue of Falsehood, in the

presence of the six magistrates of whom the tribunal consisted. This invention (for the work exists no longer) does not seem to evince any very artist-like power over the difficulties of this allegorical mode of
2 treatment. Taddeo appears to more advantage in a still existing cycle of simple historical subjects, in which the second feature of Giotto's style, the artless and characteristic conception of life, is expressed with peculiar beauty and purity. They are subjects from the life of the Virgin, painted on two walls of the Baroncelli (now Giugni) chapel in Santa Croce at Florence*. In these works we recognize a peculiarly elegant fancy, which has the power of transforming a subject, dedicated to religious edification, into the most graceful idyll. Be-
3 sides these works, there exist some beautifully executed smaller panel-pictures by Taddeo; several are in the
4 Florentine Academy, many are in the Museum at Berlin; among these last, some subjects which form a small altar decoration are particularly worthy of notice; they are inscribed with the name of the artist and the year 1334.

The truth and feeling with which Taddeo had represented the life of the Virgin naturally induced many
5 imitations. We find the same subjects arranged quite in similar order on one of the walls of a chapel in the sacristy of Santa Croce; and on the opposite one is the history of Mary Magdalen, treated in the same

* All these representations, excepting the two uppermost on the wall where the window is, the Annunciation and Visitation, have been engraved by Lasinio in his Specimens of old Florentine masters. Pl. 14–17.

style*. The compositions are excellent, (particularly in the second series, the Visit of Christ to Mary and Martha) but as the execution wants that delicacy of feeling so attractive in Taddeo, the earlier received opinion that these works were by him can hardly be correct.

Angiolo Gaddi, the son and scholar of Taddeo, also treated the life of the Virgin in a similar manner, in a 6
comprehensive series of subjects, with which he embellished the walls of the chapel of the Holy Girdle in the cathedral of Prato. They occupy but one wall; the second contains the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin; the third, the history of her holy girdle. These and the other series executed by Angiolo in the choir 7
of Santa Croce in Florence (the two best preserved of his works) have in their general character something of the ability and unaffected style of his predecessors, but they are only repetitions in a more mechanical form. It is, however, to be remarked of the last-mentioned paintings, that the subject they treat—the history of the Holy Cross—abounds with allusions of an allegorical nature. The mere list of the subjects on one wall will sufficiently confirm this. Above, is the history of the tree of knowledge; underneath, the same tree serves as a bridge, and the queen of Sheba, to whom its future importance is revealed, kneels before it; afterwards, the tree, drawn out of a morass, is converted into the cross, and finally restores a dead person to life in the presence of the empress Helena†.

* Two representations (one out of each series) are given in Kubbeil's Studien, Pl. 27 & 28. Compare Rumohr, Ital. Forsch. ii. 80.

† [If, in his remarks on the allegorical treatment of this subject,

§ XXII. Another artist of the time, Giottino (properly called Tommaso), is similar in style, but he penetrated deeper into the peculiarities of Giotto, and knew how to repeat them with feeling. Of this we have a proof in his paintings in the Bardi chapel in Santa Croce at Florence; they represent the history of the miracles of St. Sylvester: and again in a Coronation of the

the author means to attribute its conception to the painter, he is mistaken; the whole story is to be found in the Aurea Legenda. The following abridgement of this fable may serve as a specimen of the troubled sources from which the early painters derived their inspiration. Adam, being at the point of death, desires Seth to procure the oil of mercy (for the extreme unction) from the angels who guard Paradise. Seth, on applying for it, learns from the archangel Michael, that the oil can only be obtained after the lapse of ages (the period announced corresponding with the interval from the Fall to the Atonement). Seth receives from the angels, instead, a small branch of the tree of knowledge, and is told that when it should bear fruit, Adam would recover. On his return he finds Adam dead, and plants the branch on his tomb. The sapling grew to a tree, which flourished till the time of Solomon, who had it hewn down for the purposes of building; the workmen however found such difficulty in adapting it, that it was thrown aside, and now served as a bridge over a lake. The queen of Sheba (the type of the Gentiles), about to cross the bridge, sees in a vision the Saviour on the cross, and kneels in adoration. She informs Solomon that when a certain One should be suspended on that tree, the fall of the Jewish nation would be near. Solomon alarmed buries the fatal wood deep in the earth; the same spot in process of time becomes the pool of Bethesda. Immediately before the crucifixion the tree rises, and floats on the surface of the water; it is then taken out and serves for the cross. (See the Aurea Legenda under the rubric De Inventione Sanctæ Crucis.) The legend of the finding of the cross by the empress Helena is well known. The same story, with some slight variations, is the subject of a series of frescos at Arezzo, by Pietro della Francesca.—ED.]

Virgin in the under-church of S^to^ Francesco at Assisi. 2
Giottino, who seems to have obtained this name from his successful imitation of Giotto, was the son of a certain Stefano, one of the scholars of Giotto, who, from the dexterity with which he imitated the details of natural appearances, received the name of *scimia della natura*—'the ape of nature.'

We pass over many scholars and imitators of Giotto, as their works contributed nothing to the further progress of art; even of those above adduced none equalled their master in the greatness of his conceptions. We merely mention Pietro Cavallini the mosaic worker, who 3
assisted Giotto in the execution of the Navicella in Rome; some mosaics by him are still preserved in the lower part of the apsis of Sta Maria in Trastevere.

§ XXIII. Among these artists Giovanni da Melano stands distinguished; he flourished about the year 1365, and was a scholar of Taddeo Gaddi. His principal works are the paintings in the under-church of S^to^ Francesco 1
at Assisi, in the vault of the transept, on the right of the sepulchre; these again represent the life of the Virgin; also an altar-picture with Saints in the church of Ognissanti at Florence, over a deserted side-altar of 2
the transept. In these works we find the grace of Taddeo, not only improved, but accompanied by an expression of such peculiar sweetness and devoted earnestness, that perhaps the artist should rather be considered as belonging to the second style of this period.

§ XXIV. The style which Giotto had introduced is

displayed in its grandest development in some other works still existing, attributed in like manner to certain of his scholars and followers—an opinion which, however, has lately been shown to be ill-founded. The
1 paintings which cover the walls and vault of the great chapter-hall (called the Chapel of the Spaniards*), in Sta Maria Novella in Florence, may be mentioned first. The chapel was founded by a rich Florentine citizen, Mico Guidalotti, for the celebration of the then new and enthusiastically-received festival of Corpus Christi. The building was begun in 1322, and was adorned, as soon as completed, with the paintings in question, the subjects of which chiefly exhibit the triumph and glorification of the catholic church, as the festival itself had been instituted for a like object.

2 The general subject on the altar-wall opposite the window is the Passion. The subjects are arranged above and on each side of the small apsis in a peculiar manner, being so contrived that the different moments and incidents are not separated from each other. On the left is the Procession to Calvary, winding from the houses of Jerusalem to the hill. Above is the Crucifixion, the group of sorrowing women on one side of which is very grandly treated: on the other side, horsemen drive

* Single groups from the paintings of the Spanish Chapel, in Kubbeil, Studien, etc., pl. 15–17, 19, 20, 22–25. Compare Mecatti: Notizie stor. riguard. il Capitolo di S. Maria Novella, p 9, etc., extracts in Richa: Notizie istor. delle chiese Fiorentine, t. iii. p. 83, etc.,—Rumohr, It. F. ii. 81, 97.—E. Förster, Beiträge, p. 174. [Outlines of the two principal pictures are given in Rosini's Storia della Pittura Italiana, now in progress.—ED.]

back the people, who fly in all directions. Underneath, on the right of the apsis, is the Descent of Christ into Hell. The triangular space of the groined roof, over the altar-wall, contains the Resurrection: the two angels sitting on the sepulchre are beautifully drawn, but almost with Byzantine severity; the three Marys are solemn in mien and action. The corresponding triangle, over the entrance, contains the Ascension.

The paintings on the wall where the entrance is, are 3
partly destroyed, owing to the windows having been originally open, thus exposing them to the weather. According to Vasari, they represented the life of S^to^ Domenico. The subject of the saint preaching is still to be discerned, as well as the resuscitation of a damsel, who turns with gestures of amazement to her mother.

The painting which adorns the left wall of the chapel 4
(as seen from the entrance) contains an allegorical representation of the Wisdom of the Church. In the centre and upper part of the composition is St. Thomas Aquinas, who was considered the greatest philosopher of his time, and had been active in promoting the institution of the Corpus Christi festival. He sits under a rich gothic canopy and holds a book with a Latin inscription from the book of Wisdom (vii. 7 and 8.):—"Wherefore I prayed, and understanding was given me; I called upon God, and the spirit of wisdom came to me. I preferred her before sceptres and thrones, and esteemed riches nothing in comparison of her." Angels hover above him; on each side are five seats, occupied by five prophets and evangelists. At his feet are three men with books, in crouching attitudes like vanquished slaves;

they represent the most prominent heretics, Arius, Sabellius and Averrhoes. In the lower part of the picture, before a long continued screen, there are fourteen allegorical female figures, each sitting under a gothic canopy—light, slender forms with noble and pleasing countenances: they represent (beginning from the wall where the window is) civil law, ecclesiastical law, speculative theology, practical theology, the three scriptural virtues—faith, hope and charity—the seven liberal arts, arithmetic with the tablets, geometry with square and compass, astrology (astronomy) with the celestial globe, music with an organ, logic with a serpent* under her veil, rhetoric and grammar. Underneath these figures, seated a step lower, are celebrated personages as representatives of these several branches of knowledge. Profound reflection and the enthusiasm of inspiration are very happily expressed in the whole range of figures, while a grand tranquillity pervades them all. On the triangular space of the groined roof over these paintings is represented the Descent of the Holy Ghost, the relation of which to the general subject is expressed in the inscription on the book which St. Thomas Aquinas holds.

In the large painting just described the Church is represented in tranquil speculation; on the opposite wall, to the right of the entrance, she appears in her external activity. This composition is full of figures and consists of an interesting series of distinct groups. In

* [In Rosini's engraving, a scorpion. See also his explanation of the figures, which, in some instances, appears to be more correct than that given above.—Ed.]

the lower part to the left there is a large cathedral-like edifice, in the Italian-gothic style; it is in fact a representation of the Duomo of Florence, according to the original design, and is here to be understood as the symbol of the spiritual church. Before it are seated popes and emperors, as the highest guardians of the church, with ecclesiastical and temporal rulers near them—solemn and dignified figures; on each side groups of the faithful stand and kneel. These groups consist partly of celebrated men and women of the time, partly of the poor and infirm. The community of the faithful is also represented symbolically as a flock of sheep feeding before the feet of the pope and guarded by two dogs. Further to the right is seen S^to^ Domenico preaching against the heretics, and converting some of them. Near him the flock is again introduced, but in this instance it is attacked by wolves, while the dogs defend it. The dogs are all spotted black and white, and thus allude to the dress of the Dominicans (Domini canes), to whom the defence of the church especially belongs. On the same side, higher in the picture, are represented the joys and errors of the world, dances and the like, and then the conversion and repentance of men fettered in earthly pursuits. Above the church is represented the door which leads to heaven; St. Peter opens it to the blessed, and permits them to enter into Paradise, where Christ is seen in glory with choirs of angels on either side. The treatment of the whole picture is extremely animated; the costume, as was here required, is throughout that of the time, and in several of the heads there is a happy attempt at individuality. Many names of contemporary personages

have been handed down, whose portraits are said to be in the picture. The painting on the triangular space above represents the ship of the Church on a stormy sea, the same composition which Giotto had executed in mosaic in Rome.

The masters to whom these paintings have been hitherto attributed are Taddeo Gaddi—who is said to have done the subjects on the ceiling and the side-wall where St. Thomas Aquinas presides—and Simone Memmi of Siena, who is said to have painted the rest*.

§ XXV. We now turn to a place, which is important above all others in the history of Art in the fourteenth century, namely the Campo Santo†, or ceme-

* [The above somewhat prolix account of the paintings in the Spanish Chapel is given entire, as the works it describes are among the most important of the fourteenth century. The large composition of the Church Militant, attributed to Simone Memmi, was formerly supposed to contain among its numerous portraits those of Petrarch and Laura. Lanzi, Cicognara and others have doubted whether the figures in question were really intended to represent the poet and the lady he has celebrated. The portrait of Laura, which Simone painted, or drew, in Avignon after 1336, is alluded to in three of Petrarch's sonnets; and if the painter completed the works in the Spanish Chapel after his return (and not in 1332, as Lanzi asserts) he might very naturally have introduced the portraits of his friends. Unfortunately, however, the supposed Laura in the fresco does not at all resemble the miniature in the Laurentian MS., which was probably copied from the best authenticated likeness. German critics have gone further, and, from a comparison of this fresco with Simone's undoubted works, have even decided that it is not by his hand. Rosini, again (Storia della Pittura), adheres to the old tradition.—Ed.]

† C. Lasinio: Pitture a fresco del Campo Santo di Pisa. Compare Rosini's Descrizione delle Pitture del Campo Santo di Pisa.

tery, of Pisa, a space of about four hundred feet in length, and one hundred and eighteen in width, enclosed by high walls, and surrounded on the inside with an arcade. On the east side is a large chapel; on the north, two smaller ones, and opposite to them on the south are the two entrances. This space is said to have been filled with earth brought from the Holy Land in the beginning of the thirteenth century. The building was erected in the course of the same century, by Giovanni Pisano, son of the before-mentioned Nicola. The whole of the walls from top to bottom were afterwards adorned with large paintings. The east chapel was painted in the commencement of the fourteenth century; of these works, however, there are now no remains.

The most ancient of the existing paintings are 2
those on the east wall, on the left in coming out of the chapel. They represent the Passion of Christ, his Resurrection, his Appearance before the Disciples, and Ascension; it appears that they were executed before the middle of the fourteenth century. A peculiar grand and imaginative character pervades the representation of the Passion; the others are serious and solemn, particularly where Christ appears to the disciples and they touch his wounds. The pictures are rude in execution, and are besides much painted over. They are ascribed to a certain Buonamico Buffalmacco, whose existence is however altogether doubtful, as the description of his life by Vasari is a mere tissue of whimsical stories. The large pictures which follow on the north wall are 3
more important. They belong to the middle of the same century, and are the work of a profound and ima-

ginative artist, who has succeeded in representing his conception of life and death in a painted poem, full of the deepest meaning, yet requiring neither symbol nor allegory to express the ideas contained in it, and the more effective from this direct union between the representation and its import. The mind of this artist rises indeed above Giotto, whose steps he followed, and might be compared to the poet of the Divina Commedia, were it not that the very subordinate degree of his technical cultivation places him far below the perfection of Dante's terza-rima. Andrea, son of the Florentine sculptor Cione, is supposed to be the author of these paintings. He flourished in the second half of the fourteenth century, and died in 1389. He was also one of the best architects and sculptors of his time, and is generally known by his surname Orgagna, or Orcagna,—more correctly Arcagno, a corruption of Arcagnolo.

4 The first of these pictures is called the Triumph of Death. On the right is a festive company of ladies and cavaliers, who, by their falcons and dogs, appear to be returned from the chace. They sit under orange trees, and are splendidly dressed; rich carpets are spread at their feet. A troubadour and singing-girl amuse them with flattering songs; *amorini* flutter around them and wave their torches. All the pleasures and joys of earth are here united. On the left, Death approaches with rapid flight—a fearful-looking woman with wild streaming hair, claws instead of nails, large bat's-wings and indestructible wire-woven drapery. She swings a scythe in her hand, and is on the point of mowing down the joys of the company. A host of corpses closely

pressed together lie at her feet; by their insignia they are almost all to be recognized as the former rulers of the world—kings, queens, cardinals, bishops, princes, warriors, etc. Their souls rise out of them in the form of new-born infants; angels and demons are ready to receive them; the souls of the pious fold their hands in prayer, those of the condemned shrink back in horror. The angels are almost like gay butterflies in appearance, the devils have the semblance of beasts of prey or of disgusting reptiles. They fight with each other; on the right, the angels ascend to heaven with those they have saved; while the demons drag their prey to a fiery mountain, visible on the left, and hurl the souls down into the flames. Next to these corpses is a crowd of beggars and cripples, who with outstretched arms call upon Death to end their sorrows; but she heeds not their prayer, and has already hastened away. A rock separates this scene from another, in which is a second hunting party, descending the mountain by a hollow path; here again are richly attired princes and dames on horses splendidly caparisoned, and a train of hunters with falcons and dogs. The path has led them to three open sepulchres in the left corner of the picture; in them lie the bodies of three princes, in different stages of decay. Close by, in extreme old-age, and supported on crutches, stands a monk*, who, turning to the princes,

* [Intended for St. Macarius (see Vasari, Vita di Orgagna); the legend corresponding with the subject here described is quoted in Douce's "Dance of Death." The first part of the allegory, with the peculiar female personification of Death, is evidently borrowed from Petrarch's "Trionfo di Morte."—ED.]

points down to this bitter 'memento mori.' They speak apparently with indifference of the circumstance, and one of them holds his nose from the horrible smell. One queenly lady alone, deeply moved, rests her head on her hand, her graceful countenance full of sorrow. On the mountain heights are several hermits, who, in contrast to the followers of the joys of the world, have attained, in a life of contemplation and abstinence, the highest term of human existence. One of them milks a doe, squirrels play about him; another sits and reads; and a third looks down into the valley, where the remains of the mighty are mouldering away. A tradition relates, that among the distinguished personages in these pictures are many portraits of the artist's contemporaries.

The second representation is the Last Judgement. In the composition of this work a symmetrical and almost architectural severity prevails, which however produces a powerful general effect, and yet leaves room for varied and spirited *motives* in the detail. Above, in the middle, sit Christ and the Virgin in separate glories. He turns to the left, towards the condemned, while he uncovers the wound in his side, and raises his right arm with a menacing gesture; his countenance is full of majestic wrath. The Virgin, on the right of her Son, is the picture of heavenly mercy; and almost terrified at the words of eternal condemnation, she turns away, while her countenance and mien express only divine sorrow for the lost. On both sides, sit the Fathers of the Old Testament, the Apostles and other Saints next to them, severe, solemn, dig-

nified figures. Angels, holding the instruments of the passion, hover over Christ and the Virgin: under them is a group of angels, in the strictest symmetrical arrangement, who summon the dead from their graves; two blow the trumpets, a third conceals himself in his drapery, shuddering at the awful spectacle. Lower down is the earth, where men are rising from the graves; armed angels direct them to the right and left. Here is seen Solomon, who whilst he rises seems doubtful to which side he should turn; here a hypocritical monk, whom an angel draws back by the hair from the host of the blessed; and a youth in secular costume, whom another angel leads away from the condemned to the opposite groups. The blessed and the condemned rise in thick crowds above each other on both sides; in the gestures of the latter are all the torments of despair, the flames of hell rage upon them, and demons already seize them by the drapery. It is said that there are many portraits of contemporaries among the blessed and condemned, but no circumstantial traditions have reached us. The attitude of Christ and the Virgin were afterwards borrowed by Michael Angelo, in his celebrated Last Judgement, at Rome; but notwithstanding the perfection of his forms, he stands far below the dignified grandeur of the old master. Later painters have also taken his arrangements of the patriarchs and apostles as their model, particularly Fra Bartolomeo and Raphael.

The third representation, directly succeeding the fore- 6
going, is Hell. It is said to have been executed from a design of Andrea, by his brother Bernardo; it is in-

deed inferior to the preceding representations in execution, and even in the composition, in which imagination degenerates into the monstrous. Hell is here represented as a great rocky caldron, divided into four compartments rising one above the other. In the midst sits Satan, a fearful armed giant—himself a fiery furnace—out of whose body flames arise in different places, in which sinners are consumed or crushed. Beside him, in the different compartments, serpents and demons torment the condemned. The whole lower part of the picture was badly painted over and altered, according to the taste of the day, in the sixteenth century*.

An opinion has been lately started that these paintings are not the work of Orcagna, as the execution
7 does not correspond with that of his pictures preserved at Florence†. In the Strozzi chapel in Sta Maria Novella, is an altar-piece, inscribed with his name and the year 1357; it represents Christ enthroned, with saints on either side, simple solemn forms, with countenances full of expression. The walls of this chapel are also decorated with paintings by Andrea and his brother, the character of which is precisely similar to this altar-picture: the subjects resemble the last-mentioned at Pisa. On the wall where the window is, is the Last Judgement. On the wall to the right is the subject of Paradise, severely and grandly composed, like the Last Judgement at Pisa. Above, on a gothic throne, are seated Christ and the Virgin; below them hovers a

* The composition in its original state may be seen in an old engraving in Morrona's 'Pisa Illustrata.'

† E. Förster: Beiträge, p. 109.

choir of angels; on each side are endless rows of saints rising above each other, and between these side groups, in the lower part, are the figures of the blessed who are received into heaven. A noble serene character pervades all these groups; the heads, almost without exception, are very graceful; the execution indicates an earnest effort to attain completeness. Perhaps these works, and those, so nearly allied in feeling, at Pisa, are by the same hand; the latter, which are at once freer and ruder in execution, may, in that case, have been earlier productions of the master. On the wall opposite the subject of Paradise, in the Strozzi chapel, is a representation of Hell, which is ascribed to Bernardo: this work is quite devoid of artist-like treatment; it is a mere map, which scrupulously follows Dante's arrangement of the compartments or *bolge* of the infernal regions*.

Among the works of Orcagna which no longer exist must be mentioned some which he is said to have executed in Sta Croce at Florence, and which in their prin- 8
cipal details were repetitions of the three in the Campo Santo.

Next to the picture of Hell, in the last-named place, it appears that Orcagna had intended to paint a Paradise (probably like that in the Strozzi chapel), as the termination of a grand cycle†. This design, however, was not executed; in its place, is the Life of the Her-

* An outline is given in D'Agincourt: Peinture, pl. 119.

† [This would have completed what theologians call the 'quatuor novissima', (the four last things), Death, Judgement, Hell, and Paradise.—ED.]

9 mits in the Wilderness of the Thebais, by another hand; this may be considered as a continuation of the scene of the Hermits in the Triumph of Death. Vasari names the Sienese Pietro Laurati as the artist, but this appears to be a mistake for Pietro Laurentii, son of Lorenzo. It is a well-filled picture composed of a number of single groups, in which the calm life of contemplation is represented in the most varied manner. In front flows the Nile; a number of hermits are seen on its shores, who are still subjected to earthly occupation; they catch fish, hew wood, carry burthens to the city, etc. Higher up, in the mountain, where the hermits dwell in caves and chapels, they are more and more estranged from the concerns of the world. But the Tempter follows the spirit of man even into the wilderness; in various forms, sometimes frightful, sometimes alluring, he seeks to divert the pious from their holy employments; he appears but twice in his well-known serpent form; he is generally disguised as a disputing philosopher, a seducing woman, etc., but always to be recognized by his claw feet*. As a whole, this composition is constructed in the ancient mode (such as we find for instance in Byzantine art): several series of representations rise above each other, the upper and more distant being of equal size with the lower. The picture thus fails, as a matter of course, in perspective and general effect; but as the artist makes no pretension to this kind of excellence, the spectator is unconscious of the defect; the

* [The representations of the Tempter in early works of art are generally to be traced to classic sources; in this instance the *talons* may have been suggested by the form of the Sirens.—ED.]

single representations, on the other hand, are executed with much grace and feeling. Some other well-accredited works of Pietro Lorenzo will be mentioned elsewhere.

This picture adjoins the first entrance to the Campo Santo. Between it and the second are represented the history of S. Ranieri, the patron saint of Pisa, and those of S. Efeso and S. Potito *. Each of these consists of six compartments; three fill the upper, and three the lower half of the wall. The three upper ones, from 10
the history of S. Ranieri, have been improperly ascribed to the before-mentioned Simone di Martino of Siena; they are the work of a less gifted but clever mechanical artist, who painted some time between 1360 and 1370 †. The three lower paintings were executed about 1386, 11
by Antonio Veneziano, who appears to have had a far higher feeling for beauty and precision of form than the master who painted the first half.

The histories of S. Efeso and S. Potito (the lower 12
half is almost entirely obliterated) were painted by Spinello of Arezzo, who flourished about the close of the fourteenth century. His works are distinguished by a peculiar and sometimes even grand severity and vehemence of conception; they evince great talent, but are very unequal in execution, the greater part being extremely sketchy, and but few finished with spirit or feeling ‡. In the public palace at Siena, in 13

* [See the 'Acta Sanctorum,' Jan. v. 1. pp. 753, 997.—Ed.]

† E. Förster: Beiträge, p. 111., etc.

‡ Rumohr: Ital. Forsch., ii. 226, etc.—E. Förster: Beiträge, p. 117, etc.

the Sala de' Priori, this artist painted the disputes between the Emperor Frederick I. and Pope Alexander III., including the well-known humiliation of the Emperor—a subject which was obviously chosen from no interest in these particular persons, but to exhibit the
14 views of church and state then entertained. In the sacristy of S. Miniato at Florence he painted the history of St. Benedict, a work which is particularly well preserved; in the draperies of the white-clothed monks
15 his solemn severe style appears very prominently. The Fall of the rebellious Angels, one of his most beautiful compositions, painted in Sta Maria degli Angeli at Arezzo, has been lately destroyed with this church*. When Spinello had finished this work, the Devil appeared to him in the night†, as horrible and deformed as in the picture, and asked him where he had seen him in so frightful a form, and why he had treated him thus ignominiously. Spinello awoke from his dream with horror, fell into a state of abstraction, and soon
16 after died.

We now return to the Campo Santo. On the third part of the south wall, is represented the History of Job, by Francesco da Volterra; his works executed here in the years 1370–1372 are nearly obliterated, but what remains shows a close affinity to the style of Giotto‡. A grand, copious and animated treatment characterizes the whole work. The first subject, in which Jehovah sur-

* This picture is engraved in Lasinio's Specimens of old Florentine masters.

† [The story is Vasari's.—ED.]

‡ E. Förster: Beiträge, p. 113, etc.

rounded by angels gives audience to Satan, is very dignified and beautiful. The irruption of the enemy on the possessions of Job is excellent, as well as the visit of his three friends and of Elihu. The expression, as conveyed by mien and gesture, is particularly happy; a power of imitation is also displayed in regard to the appearances of nature, and especially in the representation of animals. The arrangement generally bespeaks a cultivated feeling for the grand distribution of masses in a given space. These paintings are unfortunately much restored, and have been in part destroyed by the erection of sepulchral monuments.

The west wall exhibits only bad works of a later time. On the north wall are subjects from the Creation to the Deluge*, ascribed formerly to Buffalmacco, but now known to be the work of Pietro, son of Puccio of Orvieto†. These paintings, executed in the last ten years of the fourteenth century, evince a serious feeling in holy subjects, and at the same time a cheerful natural treatment of the circumstances of life. They are also remarkable for technical merits, particularly for an harmonious arrangement of colour. A Coronation of the Virgin, on the same wall, over the door of the second chapel, is also by this artist: although little more than the design is now visible, it has an enthusiastic character, at once grand and elate.

* [Some of these, as usual, are apocryphal; for example, the Death of Cain. For a description of this subject, as represented by the early Italian painters, see Comestor, Hist. Scholastica, Gen. c. 28. Höttinger, Hist. Orientalis, p. 24, gives its source.—ED.]

† E. Förster: Beiträge, p. 123, etc.

18 Political circumstances hindered the progress of the works in the Campo Santo. It was not till the second half of the fifteenth century that the embellishments were continued. To these later works we shall return (§ 42. 4).

1 § XXVI. Niccola di Pietro, a Florentine, and one of the most remarkable painters of his time, was employed in Pisa about the same period as the artist last mentioned*. In 1390 he painted the subjects of the Passion in nine compartments on the walls of the chapter-hall of the cloisters of S. Francesco. These paintings are unfortunately much injured, but even in their remains we can trace a high degree of excellence. A solemn serenity, a peculiar pathos pervade all these representations, and show that the deepest meaning of his subject was present to the artist's mind; we find in them besides a high sense of beauty, and the expression of an intense feeling, which, as in Giovanni da Melano, already belongs to the second general style of this period. Pre-eminently beautiful is the representation of Christ in the Resurrection, and still more so in the Ascension; there is something wonderfully dignified, holy and glorified in the features of the Saviour, which has perhaps never since
2 been equalled. Niccola also painted a hall in the Franciscan monastery at Prato, from the personal history of St. Matthew, but these works are not equal
3 to his former ones. At Florence on the right side wall of the sacristy of Sta Croce, are representations of the

* E. Forster: Beiträge, p. 187. etc.—Lasinio: Raccolta di Pitture Antiche; Pisa, 1820.

Passion, probably (with the exception of the older central picture) by the same artist, but painted before those at Pisa, to the finished beauty of which they are very inferior.

CHAPTER II.

TUSCAN SCHOOLS. SIENESE MASTERS AND THEIR FOLLOWERS.

§ XXVII. In the first general tendency of art at the period when the *subjective* mode of conception prevailed—a mode which we have compared with didactic poetry—we observe a number of new and peculiar representations, or at least a new treatment of old subjects. Not so in the second tendency; in it the feelings of the creating artist predominate, and for this reason we have compared it with lyric poetry. The feelings, the inward energies of the soul, need no forms of varied character in order to manifest themselves in external appearance; they have no essential connection with the phenomena of life in its multifarious peculiarities and relations; their expression extends indeed to the surface of outward form, but has no necessary dependence on it.

Thus, as the proximate result of this general law, we find many of the *motives* of the preceding period, those especially which were derived from the early Christian modes of representation, preserved in the second tendency of this time; they were retained not merely because no desire was felt to abandon them, but because

their ideality and abstract grandeur afforded scope for the expression of a predominant feeling on the part of the artist. Nevertheless, instead of the peculiar severity and hardness of the Byzantine manner, which, as we have seen, had been already considerably modified by Duccio, we find the softer style of Giotto adopted. This change was the more natural, as it allowed a fuller expression of that enthusiastic sentimentality which characterized the tendency in question, not only in imitative art, but in all the lyric poetry of the time.

1 § XXVIII. Among the Sienese particularly this style was developed to peculiar beauty. Its chief representative is Simone di Martino (improperly called Simone Memmi), a contemporary of Giotto, after whose death he was invited to the papal court at Avignon, in 1336, where he is said to have died in 1344. It is worthy of remark, and seems more than mere accident, that the reputation of Giotto is preserved by the epic-didactic Dante, and that of Simone by the great lyric poet of mediæval Italy—Petrarch—in two of his sonnets. Of the genuine works of Simone, it is true, not many are known; the large compositions which, according to Vasari, he painted in the chapter-house of Sta Maria Novella* at Florence and in the Campo Santo at Pisa, are certainly by another hand; however, the little

* [See the Editor's note, § xxv. 4. Notwithstanding his friendship for Simone, Petrarch seems to have had a still higher admiration for Giotto; this appears from the terms in which he bequeaths a work by that painter, as a valued possession, to Francesco Vecchio di Carrara, the sovereign of Padua.—ED.]

that does remain, by him, is sufficient to characterize him with tolerable accuracy.

The principal work is a large altarpiece originally con- 2
sisting of a series of single pictures, which, it appears, are dispersed in different places in Siena; the middle picture contains a Madonna and Child, and is inscribed with the name of the artist; the side panels represent numerous figures of prophets and saints. "The conception in the whole of these works, is far more solemn, deep and impressive than is usually found among the Florentines: repose, dignity, majesty—in one word, holiness speaks in every form and movement. A feeling for beauty and delicacy of feature is predominant, while the heads are ideal throughout; the drawing is decided, but not without defects. There is no approach to rotundity, properly speaking, yet the masses of light and shade are separated, and are made to assist the expression*." The execution of this painting is singularly delicate; the carnation (in which a greenish under-tint prevails) is most carefully finished; the hair so fine, as to appear drawn rather than painted; we observe likewise a profusion of rich ornaments, and particularly pearls and precious stones, executed with the greatest care and neatness.

The same depth of expression and peculiarities of 3
execution prevail in a large picture of a Madonna surrounded by saints, which was originally painted on the walls of the judgement-hall of the public palace at Siena by an older master, and was restored, or rather painted

* E. Förster: Beiträge, p. 166. etc. The paintings of the altarpiece in question were first discovered by the author just quoted.

anew, by Simone about 1330. Unfortunately it has in later times been rudely repaired. There are, however, some other pictures at Siena which may be ascribed with great probability to Simone.

4 There is also an Annunciation in the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence, painted with the same refined and deep feeling. It is inscribed with the year 1333; beside the name of Simone there appears also that of a certain Lippo Memmi, a relation, who assisted him in the picture. They are also said to have executed other works together.

5 A beautiful miniature illumination which adorns a manuscript of Virgil in the Ambrosian library at Milan also bears the name of Simone*. It represents Virgil and the various species of his poetry personified.

6 Lastly, the account which Vasari gives of some works of Simone, which no longer exist, corroborates the above description of the peculiar character of this master's style. It is almost always in Madonnas, generally surrounded with angels and saints, that the feeling alluded to expresses itself most decidedly. In a representation of the Passion in the chapter-house of S^to^ Spirito at Florence, Vasari speaks very emphatically of the beauty and depth of feeling in the angels†.

Other Sienese artists followed the style and aim so decidedly apparent in the productions of Simone, as

* [Engraved in Rosini's Storia dalla Pittura.—ED.]

† [Vasari's words hardly seem to warrant the author's observation, as far as the angels are concerned. To the above list of Simone's works may be added his fresco in the portico of the Cathedral at Avignon, vestiges of which are still said to exist; for a description of the subject, see Della Valle: Lettere Senesi, vol. ii. p. 94.—ED.]

appears from the works ascribed to the already-mentioned Pietro di Lorenzo. With these may be classed an altar-picture in the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence, inscribed with the year 1340 and the name of the artist. It represents a Madonna and Child, with angels on 7
each side—grand severe forms, with beautiful expressive countenances. There is another picture by the same artist in a side chamber of the sacristy of the Duomo at Siena*.

The allegorical style founded by Giotto is also to be recognized in this school, singularly developed and united with the peculiarities of the Sienese school.

§ XXIX. In this class are the paintings which An- 1
drea di Lorenzo, brother of Pietro, executed in the public palace at Siena, and in the Sala delle Balestre. The subject, a very characteristic one in the history of the states of Italy, is Good and Bad Government, and their consequences. On the principal wall, opposite to the windows, the emperor is seated on a high throne, as the representative of infallible power†. On each side of the throne sit three allegorical female figures—Prudence, Courage and Peace, Magnanimity, Temperance and Justice—beautiful, serene, solemn forms; over the emperor hover Faith, Charity and Hope. In these, and the succeeding allegorical figures, we especially recognize the Sienese manner, which, with a resemblance to

* Rumohr: Ital. Forsch. ii. 106.

† This distinction between the emperor and the government itself is founded on the peculiar position of the states of Italy in the Middle Ages.

Byzantine art, also preserves an affinity to the antique*. Pre-eminent in beauty is the goddess of Peace, gentle in mien, with noble features, the olive branch in her hair; tranquilly resting her head on one hand, she reposes on a couch; her white drapery falls in a thousand folds over her beautiful limbs, without concealing them, as in figures on antique sarcophagi; the mild expressive countenance alone reminds us that we look upon a work of modern art. Below the emperor is a procession of citizens and knights coming from the right, where a female figure representing Good Government, sits enthroned—Wisdom, Concord, and other allegorical figures, beside her. On the side wall to the right are the effects of Good Government, but this picture, which attempts a characteristic conception of common life, is not satisfactory. On the left wall, Bad Government is represented enthroned; Avarice, Violence, Vain-glory, hover over her; Cruelty, Treachery, Deceit, Rage, etc., are at her side; the effects of such government follow; little of the work is however now to be discerned.

2 In the second half of the fourteenth century, a certain Berna or Barna, characterized by the same general qualities, flourished among the Sienese; some of his works are still preserved in the church of S. Gemignano, a small town between Florence and Siena†.

§ XXX. The prevailing mode of conception, so remarkable for depth of feeling, appears to great advantage in another Sienese, Taddeo di Bartolo, whose ac-

* Compare E. Förster: Beiträge, p. 182, etc.

† Rumohr: Ital. Forsch. ii. 109. etc.

credited works belong to the beginning of the fifteenth century. The earliest of these are at Perugia, where the artist is said to have employed his talents for a considerable time. An altarpiece (inscribed with the painter's name and the date 1403), now preserved in 1
the Academy, deserves especial mention: it represents a Madonna and Child, with two Angels and St. Bernard—majestic figures, with draperies in a good style, and with a depth of expression that fascinates: the countenance of the Madonna is especially pleasing and graceful. In the same collection are two pic- 2
tures, each with four Saints, very dignified and beautiful, but not so striking as the figures in the last-mentioned example. In the left transept of the church of S. Agostino at Perugia there is a picture of the 3
Descent of the Holy Ghost, an admirable work, the style of which perfectly corresponds with the other productions of this master.

An Annunciation in the Sienese Academy, though a 4
pleasing picture, is not equal to the specimens at Perugia. The paintings on the walls of the chapel of the Palazzo 5
della Signoria at Siena, executed in 1407, are much more important: they consist of some scenes from the life of the Virgin. A peculiar refinement and a deep sincerity of feeling characterize all these works: the solemn funeral procession of the Virgin, her burial, and the descent of Christ to raise her to eternal life, are all very beautifully and touchingly represented. The chapel is unfortunately very dark, so that a favourable day is necessary to see the paintings even tolerably well. Later, in 1414, Taddeo painted a hall annexed to the 6

chapel, in which he represented a series of imaginary portraits of the celebrated orators, statesmen, and heroes of antiquity. These works are, however, of inferior merit; the subject itself, which belongs essentially to the didactic style before referred to, was little adapted
7 to the peculiar feeling of the individual. Domenico di Bartolo, the nephew or brother of Taddeo, was an artist of less note.

8 The works of Taddeo at Perugia appear to have produced many imitators, both there and in its neighbourhood; this is evident from the style of some paintings still existing in different places at Assisi.

§ XXXI. This prevailing bland character, and the adherence to ancient modes of representation, pervade the productions of the Sienese artists throughout the whole of the fifteenth century. In other respects, however, Art seems to have retrograded in Siena during this period in a striking degree; almost all the works of the time bear the stamp of feebleness and indecision. Among the masters who distinguished themselves from the rest in a slight degree, were the brothers
1 Sano and Lorenzo di Pietro, who flourished about the middle of this century. To these may be added Matteo
2 di Giovanni, or Matteo da Siena, by whom there is a picture of a gentle, tranquil character, dated 1479, in S. Domenico at Siena; it represents three female saints,
3 and, in the lunette above, a Dead Christ. His celebrated Massacre of the Innocents, which he twice painted (one being in S. Agostino at Siena, the other in the Museum of Naples), is a very mannered production,

with few features of real power, and for the most part in an exaggerated style.

§ XXXII. The tendency we have been tracing, so confined in its aim, yet so full of feeling, attained its greatest perfection in an artist who flourished in the first half of the fifteenth century, and passed the greater part of his life at Florence. This was Fra Giovanni Angelico 1 da Fiesole, a Dominican monk, born in the year 1387; he died in 1455. His deep piety, to which his life and works equally bear testimony, obtained for him the surnames of the Blessed (Beato) and Angelic (Angelico)*. According to Vasari, he might have lived at ease and secured wealth as well as honour by his art, which he well understood even in his youth; but for the sake of his peace and tranquillity, and particularly for the benefit of his soul, he preferred to enter the order of S. Domenico. He never painted for money, but willingly satisfied any application for his works if his Superior permitted him; he was so humble, so little desirous of honours, that when pope Nicholas V. wished to confer on him the archbishopric of Florence, on account of his holy life, he prayed the pontiff to appoint another, as he did not feel himself called to a situation of authority. He never began his work without prayer, and so entirely did his subject fill his soul, that he was frequently in-

* [The author seems to imply that these designations were equally accidental, but the beatification of a holy person was an honour solemnly conferred by the Church, and only inferior to canonization. Lanzi is more correct in calling Fra Giovanni "un Beato dell' Ordine Domenicano." See also Fra Serafino Razzi (Vite de' Santi e Beati del Sacro Ordine de' Predicatori), quoted by Baldinucci.—Ed.]

terrupted by tears when representing the sufferings of the Redeemer. Hence he considered what he had painted as a special gift from Heaven, and never ventured to improve it.

This profound serenity of feeling, this pure and holy frame of mind, this confiding devotedness, form the never-failing characteristics of Fra Giovanni's works. He knew nothing of human anxieties, of struggle with passion, of victory over it; it is a glorified and more blessed world which he endeavours to reveal to our view. He seeks to invest the forms he places before us with the utmost grace his hand could lend them; the sweetest expression beams in all their countenances, an harmonious grace guides all their movements, particularly where the action is expressed by the treatment of the drapery. The most cheerful colours, like spring flowers, are selected for the draperies, and a profusion of golden ornaments is lavished over the whole: every auxiliary has been employed that could give a new glory to these holy subjects. With a peculiar religious awe he adheres scrupulously to traditional types, and ventures on none of the innovations which were already introduced into art at Florence; these would have been a disturbing element to the childlike serenity of his mind. Of all artists, Fiesole, as we have already observed, is the most perfect example of this style, but in him likewise it appears most decidedly in all its restrictedness. He is inimitable in his representations of angels and glorified saints—weak, timid and embarrassed, when he introduces man in his human nature. Not merely the rancour and hatred of the foes of Christ, but all deter-

mined action, is feebly expressed: his figures, even when in momentary repose, are deficient in apparent power to act, though the act to be performed may be the highest and the holiest; thus his representations of Christ, in whose form human power and divine sanctity should be equally prominent, are everywhere unsatisfactory, frequently unworthy.

Of Fiesole's education as an artist, nothing certain is known; some peculiarities in his mode of colouring, particularly the greenish under-tint of the carnation, betray the influence of the Sienese school. His first efforts are said to have been in miniature illuminations, in which art he is supposed to have been instructed by an elder brother. Vasari also speaks in praise of some missals embellished with miniatures by him. Those however which are preserved in the choir of St. Mark at Florence, 2
the convent to which he belonged, appear to have been executed not by himself, but by one of his scholars, perhaps under his direction.

The best of his small panel-pictures, of which he executed a great number, are collected in the gallery of the Florentine Academy. The most remarkable are eight, 3
containing thirty-five scenes from the life of Christ; these were formerly on the presses in which the church plate was kept, in the convent library of the Serviti (SS. Annunziata) at Florence; they are executed with the greatest delicacy, and are almost all in good preservation*. Some very graceful pictures of the same kind 4
are in the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence; not to men-

* Nocchi of Florence is publishing outlines of these traced from the originals.

tion other collections, in which single pictures of the highest merit are to be met with.

5 Among the pictures of a larger size may be mentioned a very graceful Coronation of the Virgin*, formerly in S. Domenico at Fiesole, at present in the Museum
6 at Paris.—A Deposition from the Cross, the subject treated with dignity, which was formerly in the sacristy of Sta Trinità at Florence, now in the Academy of that
7 city.—A large tabernacle in the gallery of the Uffizj, the doors painted inside and out with saints larger than life. On the centre is represented a very grand Madonna, surrounded with beautiful angels on the margin. Yet solemn and dignified as these large figures are in their general effect, they are deficient in correctness of drawing; the artist was still a stranger to the accurate study of living form—a deficiency less observable in his smaller
8 works. But the large compositions with which he adorned the cloisters of his order at Florence (St. Mark) show a great improvement in this respect, or perhaps the greater firmness of execution conceals the defect. At all events the mind of this noble and amiable artist is best understood in these works, which are preserved in the situations for which they were designed, where they still serve their original purpose. In the chapter-hall he painted a crucifix, before which a number of saints are worshiping; he executed many pictures in the court and in the upper corridor of the convent, among which are to be particularly distinguished a very beautiful Annun-

* Mariä Krönung und die Wunder des heiligen Domenicus nach Johann von Fiesole; gez. von W. Ternite, mit Text von A. W. von Schlegel.

ciation, and a Madonna surrounded by saints; he also adorned the cells of the friars with various edifying representations. All of these in the monastery of St. Mark are in good preservation. In Rome, whither he was invited at a later period, he painted two chapels in the Vatican, of which but one, containing the history of St. Laurence, is preserved. Though not equal to the paintings at Florence, some of them, as for instance the Preaching of St. Stephen, contain admirable details*. A style somewhat similar, but also partaking of the characteristics of Taddeo Gaddi, is apparent in the works of Don Lorenzo, a Camaldolese monk, who lived at Florence somewhat earlier, it appears, than Fiesole. At the Badia di Cerreto, near S. Gemignano, is an altarpiece by this painter, representing the Coronation of the Virgin†; an Annunciation by him is preserved in Sta Trinità at Florence; this last picture is characterized by a refined and gentle feeling, and by movements free from constraint.

* Le Pitture della Cappella di Nicolo V., opere del Beato Gio. Ang. da Fiesole; dis. ed inc. da Fr. Giangiacomo, Roma, 1810.

† Dr. Gaye: Tüb. Kunstblatt, 1840, No. 82.

CHAPTER III.

SCHOOLS OF UPPER ITALY.

§ XXXIII. If we may judge from a few examples, it will appear that this same style prevailed at the same period in other parts of Central and Upper Italy. 1 Bologna forms one of its most important points. A peculiar delicacy in the conception and treatment appear 2 in the remains of some ancient paintings saved from the walls of suppressed convents, and now in the Campo Santo at Bologna. In the first half of the fourteenth 3 century flourished the Bolognese Vitale, who obtained the surname "dalle Madonne," from his pictures of the Holy Virgin, which were of peculiar beauty. Simone of Bologna, surnamed Simone dei Crocifissi, appears from his pictures in the Gallery of Bologna to have been nothing more than a clever mechanical artist. 4 Another Bolognese of more merit and influence, Jacopo d' Avanzo, painted a variety of subjects on the walls of the chapel of Sta Felice, in the church of S. Antonio at Padua, about the year 1376*. In these works Aldighiero da Zevio, or Aldighiero Veronese, a painter of a more antiquated taste, assisted. The best specimens of 5 Avanzo are the paintings in the chapel of S. Giorgio

* Lanzi, Storia Pittorica, v. 5, p. 14. The pictures in the Gallery of Bologna inscribed "Jacobus Pauli," which, according to Lanzi, belong to the same artist, decidedly differ from the above-mentioned frescos. They are hard and severe, and somewhat in the manner of Spinello of Arezzo. [Lanzi calls the Chapel at Padua "la cappella di S Jacopo."—Ed.]

(built in 1377) near S. Antonio, at Padua. In invention this artist had a true and powerful conception of ordinary life, but he is especially remarkable as a colourist, and appears to have been the first who employed half-tints with effect*. Among other characteristic works of the time may be mentioned a beautiful fresco†, 6

* E. Förster: Tüb. Kunstblatt, 1838, Nos. 3, 6, 8, 11. This writer had the merit of directing attention to the paintings in question and causing them to be cleaned and preserved. He is about to publish an account of Avanzo and his works, with engravings.

† [This is the first time the author has distinctly spoken of frescos, the general expression "paintings on walls" (Wandmalereien) having been hitherto employed. Of the works which he has described under the latter denomination, some, according to Vasari, were in fresco; but the early Italian paintings on walls were more frequently in a peculiar kind of distemper.

The art of fresco-painting is, however, unquestionably very ancient; that it was practised in the middle ages is evident from the description of its process in the MS. of Theophilus (De omni Scientiâ Picturæ Artis), written in the tenth or eleventh century. It was known even to the ancient Greeks; the expression ἐφ' ὑγροῖς sufficiently describes its chief peculiarity, namely, the application of the colours while the plaster is wet or fresh (fresco). (See Plutarch. Amator. v. 2. p. 759, quoted by Emeric David, Discours historiques sur la Peinture Moderne.) The encaustic method, in which wax was a chief ingredient, was preferred to fresco by the ancients, as more durable and forcible. (*Ibid.*) The antique paintings on walls which have come down to us are now recognized as encaustic works, or at least partaking of the encaustic process. This art, though long practised in the middle ages, and, according to some authorities, even by Greek painters of the present day, was entirely lost by the Italians, with whom painting on walls was reduced to the methods of distemper and fresco. The technical details of these, as known to the early Florentines, may be seen in Cennini (Trattato, pp. 58. 69) and in Vasari (Introduzione). The art of encaustic-painting on walls has been lately revived in Munich, where Professor Schnorr has executed a series of compo-

in the manner of the Florentine Nicola di Pietro, which exists in the court of the convent of S. Domenico at Bologna; it bears the name of "Petrus Johannis," and is unfortunately in some places much injured*.

7 Toward the close of the fourteenth century, the Bolognese Lippo di Dalmasio was famed for his Madonnas, and, like Vitale, bore the name "dalle Madonne." The 8 Ursuline nun Beata Caterina Vigri is by some numbered among his scholars, but her productions belong to the middle of the fifteenth century: the Galleries of Bologna and Venice contain each a specimen, representing St. Ursula, inscribed with the name of the artist and date. These examples resemble the Sienese pictures of the time.

§ XXXIV. A similar style is observable in the works 1 of the artists of the March of Ancona. In the little city of Tolentino, the walls of a side chapel in S. Nicola are decorated with a series of subjects from the life of the saint: some of these have been coarsely painted over, but in the remainder there are graceful heads, and expressions of extreme tenderness and earnestness: the style fixes the period of their execution at about the end of the fourteenth century, and they may be ascribed with some probability to the brothers Lo-

sitions, according to a process discovered or restored by Conservator Fernbach, and which will in due time be made public.—ED.]

* According to Lanzi, a certain Lianori subscribed himself "Petrus Johannis," Storia Pittorica, v. 5, p. 17. A picture in the Gallery of Bologna, which bears the inscription, "Petrus Lianoris, p. 1453," does not at all coincide with the style of the above-mentioned frescos: it is hard and severe.

renzo and Jacopo di San Severino, who painted the oratory of S. Giovanni Battista, at Urbino, in 1416*.

In the same class may be mentioned Allegretto da Fabriano †; a graceful Madonna in the gallery of the Berlin Museum is inscribed with his name.

One of his followers, Gentile da Fabriano, who flou- 3
rished in the commencement of the fifteenth century, is much more important‡. His style resembles Fiesole, though on the one hand he has not the deep devotional feeling of this artist, while on the other he excels him in a freer conception of the ordinary events of life. Michael Angelo characterised him well when he said that "Gentile's pictures were like his name," that is, noble, graceful, cheerful, animated; all which is expressed in the Italian *gentile*, marking a peculiarity in Italian manners for which we have no corresponding word. Fiesole and Gentile are like two brothers, both highly gifted by nature, both full of the most refined and amiable feelings; but the one became a monk, the other a knight. We compare the pictures of Gentile to the poems of the Minnesingers: they seem to breathe the joys of spring; they have an air of inexpressible serenity, clouded by no doubt, no anxiety. A childlike delight in splendour and golden ornaments (which he uses in the greatest profusion, without however perplexing the eye by excess) pervades all his works.

* See Passavant: Rafael Von Urbino, i. 427.

† Allegretto di Nuzio, by whom there is an altarpiece dated 1368 in the Duomo at Macerata, is without doubt the same person.

‡ Elogio del Pitt. Gentile di Fabriano, scr. dal Marchese. A. Cav Ricci. Macerata, 1829.

Of Gentile's education nothing is known, and of the numerous works which he executed in his native place, in Venice and Rome, but very few now exist; the loss of those in the church of the Lateran at Rome, which were described as admirable, is particularly to be regretted. The little that does exist is, however, sufficient to enable us to form an estimate of his talents. We may mention particularly two pictures of moderate size, both of which represent the Adoration of the Kings. One of them inscribed with Gentile's name and the year 1423, formerly in the sacristy of Sta Trinità at Florence, is at present in the Academy; over the arch which encloses the picture are smaller paintings, and among them four Prophets, majestic, dignified figures; the other picture is the principal ornament of Signor Craglietto's collection in Venice; in composition it is more copious, and appears to be more highly finished than that at Florence; some figures of young men, in particular, who form the retinue of a fourth Prince present at the holy ceremony, are full of chivalrous grace*.

§ XXXV. In Venice, as we have seen, the Byzantine manner was adopted to a greater extent, and with marked results. From the close connection of this city with the East, we shall not be surprised to find the influence in question still perceptible throughout the

* [A celebrated work by this painter, formerly at Val di Sasso, near Fabriano, had the reputation of having been studied by Raphael in his youth. The Madonna, by Gentile, now in the Brera at Milan, is said to be the central portion of this altarpiece, but some authorities describe the subject of the latter as having been the Coronation of the Virgin. See Passavant: Rafael Von Urbino, i. 24, 429.—Ed.]

whole of the fourteenth century. It appears, however, that the union of Byzantine modes of representation with the general style of this century was not the consequence of an internal impulse or predilection (as was the case with the Sienese), but rather of this external relation; at least no considerable effect of historical importance resulted from it in this instance. We find examples in confirmation of these views in the collection of the Venetian Academy. Among these specimens is 1
a large altarpiece, composed of different pictures, which, with the exception of the central subject (a work of later date), are ascribed to Nicolo Semitecolo, who flourished about the middle of the fourteenth century. In these works the general tendency of the time is but faintly observable; they most resemble the works of Duccio, without however attaining his excellence. The transition is more strongly marked in another altarpiece by Lorenzo 2
Veneziano, the middle picture of which represents the Coronation of the Virgin, and, according to the inscription, was painted in 1357. It is a picture of peculiar severity; the Byzantine characteristics are especially observable in the heads. A third altarpiece, ascribed to 3
Michele Onoria, exhibits an improved style. It is more in the general character of the time, with regular folds of drapery and a light flesh colour, in which however the peculiar green shadows of the Byzantines still prevail. A picture by the Venetian Niccola di Pietro, in the Manfrini gallery at Venice, resembles this last: it bears his name and the date 1394. The subject is a 4
Madonna and Child, with Angels playing on musical instruments; the work is not devoid of grace, particularly in the simple, almost Sienese, draperies.

Another style of art appeared in Venice in the first half of the fifteenth century. A peculiar melting softness, not however deficient in seriousness and dignity, characterizes the works of this period; the drapery flows in long continuous lines, resembling the Tuscan style of the fourteenth century; the flesh tints are soft and warm, almost like a foretaste of the later excellence of the
5 Venetian school. In a beautiful altarpiece by Michiel Giambono, who flourished in Venice at this time, this tendency appears very decided. The picture is in the Academy, and represents Christ with four Saints.
6 A Madonna with the same qualities (though not otherwise interesting), by Jacobello del Fiore, is preserved in the Manfrini gallery at Venice; it is dated 1434. The
7 works of Fra Antonio da Negroponte are in a similar style, but are distinguished besides by a peculiar dignity allied to the early Christian art. Two excellent pictures, ascribed to him, are in the church and sacristy of S. Francesco della Vigna, at Venice, but they appear to be by different hands. The tendency in question is most apparent in the works of two artists who worked in conjunction, Giovanni and Antonio of Murano (one of the Venetian Islands); the latter was of the Vivarini family, of whom we shall speak in a subsequent chapter; the former appears to have been a German, from the frequent adjunct of 'Alamanus' to his name*.
8 There are two excellent pictures by these artists in the

* Perhaps a particular influence is to be attributed to this Giovanni, as regards the prevalence of the soft style of painting above alluded to, inasmuch as this style had been originally formed in the country whence this artist probably came. I allude here to the early Cologne school.

Venetian Academy. One, dated 1440, represents the 9
Coronation of the Virgin, with many figures: the other,
dated 1446, is a picture of considerable dimensions, re-
presenting the Madonna enthroned under a canopy
supported by Angels, with the Four Doctors of the
Church at her side. Some beautiful specimens are 10
also to be seen in an inner chapel of S. Zaccaria, in
Venice.

§ XXXVI. The same warm colouring is observable at this time in other parts of Upper Italy. Among the Veronese it is united with a peculiar severity of drawing, as may be seen in the remains of some graceful frescos by Stefano da Zevio (in S. Fermo, over 1
one of the side doors in Sta Eufemia). The same qualities are apparent in a very excellent and remarkable altarpiece in the Council-hall at Verona: it is inscribed "Opus Turoni, 1360," and represents the Trinity, the Coronation of the Virgin, and several Saints. Still more worthy of mention is Vittore Pisanello, who painted in the Lateran at Rome with Gentile da Fabriano. His figures have a certain slender grace which give them some resemblance to Gentile's. Many of his works 3
are preserved at Verona; an Annunziata in S. Fermo 4
is ascribed to him, as well as a picture in the gallery of
the Council-hall, a Madonna sitting in a flower-garden 5
with Angels and Saints, both of them graceful, pleasing works.

Examples of a similar kind are to be seen in Milan and other places. Thomas di Mutina, a Modenese, appears to have been particularly eminent; he executed

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some paintings for the emperor Charles IV., about 1357,
to embellish his Castle of Karlstein, in Bohemia. One
6 of these pictures, inscribed with the artist's name, is at
present in the gallery of the Belvedere, at Vienna. It
represents half-figures of the Madonna and Child, and
two knightly Saints. The expression of the heads may
be compared, in some degree, with the works of Vitale
of Bologna.

BOOK IV.

THIRD STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT.

MASTERS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, AND THEIR FOLLOWERS.

INTRODUCTION.

§ XXXVII. In the first period of reviving Art, toward the end of the thirteenth century, it had been the aim of the artist to represent the sacred subjects which had been handed down from an earlier age, in a lively and impressive manner, and to enlarge the range of such representations in the same spirit. In the second period, his own mind and feelings came forth in free and self-productive energy; he had become conscious of his own powers, of his own privileges: but, for the perfection of Art, one element was still wanting—the correct delineation of form, guided by the study of nature.

The attainment of this element characterises the third period, extending from the fifteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The progress that had been made toward its acquisition during the two former periods had been very limited, as regards essentials. The imitation of nature, with a true and artless conception of characteristic moments and circumstances, had been successfully attempted in general respects only. A familiar acquaintance with the laws

of form in its various appearances, extending to all its minutest details, was still retarded by the prevailing mode of representation, fettered as it was by prescribed types. The third period is the æra of the emancipation of Art in its external relations, as the preceding periods were of its internal life. In this instance again, the persevering consistency, and even exclusive predilection, with which the new aim was followed up, were calculated to produce peculiar and important results.

CHAPTER I.

TUSCAN SCHOOLS.

§ XXXVIII. We shall consider the painters belonging to this new period in the detached groups which present themselves in different parts of Italy. And first we turn to Florence, which in this century reached the zenith of her power, and where, under the auspices of the noble-minded family of the Medici, the intellectual as well as material interests of the republic attained their highest splendour. Poetry and philosophy, architecture and sculpture, advanced, with the art of painting, toward the same perfection. A few Florentine artists who mark the transition from the old to the new manner, first invite our attention, in the beginning of the fifteenth century; they unite, with the still prevailing type of the preceding periods, some indications of rounding, and a more correct delineation of form. Among

them may be especially mentioned Paolo Uccello, and Masolino da Panicale. Of the works of Uccello, a few only, painted in a uniform green colour, are preserved in the great court of the monastery of Sta Maria Novella. Two pictures by Masolino are in Sta Maria del Carmine (Brancacci chapel), representing the Preaching of St. Peter, and the same apostle Curing the Sick. To Uccello is also ascribed the first scientific investigation of the laws of perspective.

§ XXXIX. Masolino is said to have been the instructor of Masaccio, who was born about the beginning of the century at San Giovanni, in Valdarno, between Florence and Arezzo, and died as early as 1443, as was suspected, by poison. This distinguished artist merits particular attention, as having been the first who gave a decided impulse to the new direction of Art: of the particulars of his life nothing more is known, than that (as Vasari informs us) he was originally named Tommaso, or Maso, and that the reproachful "accio" was added from his total neglect of all the external relations of life, in his exclusive devotion to Art.

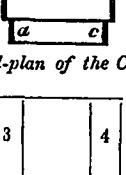
Some frescos in the chapel of Sta Caterina in S. Clemente at Rome are ascribed to him as early works *; they represent scenes from the life of Sta Caterina and from other legends, a Crucifixion, etc. Little that is original in these paintings is now preserved, the greater part have been weakly painted over by a modern hand; here

* Engravings in Kubbeil's Studien, Bl. 28. 35.—Le pitture di Masaccio esistenti in Roma nella Basilica di S. Clemente, colle teste lucidate dal C. Labruzzi e pub. da Gio. dalle Arme.

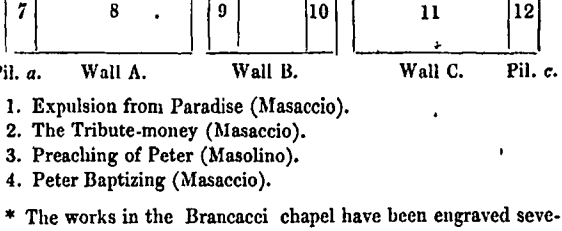
and there only can we recognise the original master, who, like Masolino, followed the manner of the latest imitators of Giotto, with peculiar spirit and beauty.

The frescos which Masaccio painted in the Carmelite church at Florence, in the Brancacci chapel*, near the works of Masolino, are much more important.

Before we consider them more closely, an inspection of the subjoined plan, showing the relative position of these works (in which a third master was also employed), may facilitate the explanation of the several paintings on the walls and two projecting pilasters of the chapel.



Ground-plan of the Chapel.



1. Expulsion from Paradise (Masaccio).
2. The Tribute-money (Masaccio).
3. Preaching of Peter (Masolino).
4. Peter Baptizing (Masaccio).

* The works in the Brancacci chapel have been engraved several times: some by Piroli (the side walls);—the whole of them are given in Lasinio's collection;—drawings of the heads, in Patch's work;—Masaccio, sua Vita e Collezione di 24 Teste; Firenze, 1770.

5. Healing of the Cripple at the Beautiful Gate, and Cure of Petronilla.
6. The Fall of Adam and Eve (Filippino Lippi?).
7. Peter in Prison (Filippino Lippi).
8. Resuscitation of the King's Son (Masaccio; a small portion, in the centre of the picture, by Filippino).
9. Peter and John Healing the Cripple (Masaccio).
10. Peter and John Distributing Alms (Masaccio).
11. Martyrdom of Peter (Filippino Lippi).
12. Liberation of Peter (Filippino Lippi) *.

The paintings of Masaccio are thus on the wall behind the altar, and on the side wall to the left. These were the works which were the means of introducing a new and marked improvement in the history of Art, and which for a long period, even to the time of Raphael, formed the school of the artists of Florence. We observe that in this instance the aim of the artist is not so much to seize and represent correctly a particular event, nor to manifest his own inmost feelings through the medium of the forms and expressions with which he has to deal; in this instance, for the first time, the

* [These works, so often referred to by the historians of Art, have been variously described. The Tribute Money, No. 2, has been improperly denominated the Calling of Andrew and Peter. No. 9, called by the author Peter and John Healing, etc. (one of the subjects of No. 5), is more probably intended for the Sick and Deformed Cured by the Shadow of Peter (Acts, v. 15.), here accompanied by John. No. 10 is sometimes called the Ananias; a dead figure lies at the feet of the apostles. No. 8 is sometimes erroneously called Eutychus Restored to Life (Acts, xx. 9.); the subject is also incorrectly named by the author. The apocryphal incident represented is the following: Simon Magus had challenged Peter and Paul to restore a dead person to life; the sorcerer first attempted this, and failed (the sculls and bones placed on the ground are part of the machinery of the incantation). The apostles raise the youth. (See the Aurea Legenda, and the Historia Apostolica

aim is the study of bodily form for itself, the study of the external conformation of man. With such an aim is identified a feeling which, in beauty, sees and preserves the expression of proportion; in repose and motion, the expression of an harmonious development of the powers of the human frame. In these works therefore, for the first time, we find a well-grounded and graceful delineation of the naked, which, though still somewhat constrained in the figures of Adam and Eve, in No. 1, exhibits itself in successful mastery in the Youth Preparing for Baptism, in No. 4; so well, in short, in both, that the first were copied by Raphael in the Loggie of the Vatican, while the last, according to an old tradition, formed an epoch in the history of Florentine Art. The art of raising the figures from

of Abdias, where the youth is merely described as "adolescens nobilis propinquus Cæsaris.") The bearded figure lifting both hands, behind the kneeling apostle, is probably intended for Simon Magus. Four of these compositions (Nos. 2, 5, 8, and 11) are almost double subjects. In No. 2, different moments of the same event are represented; No. 5 contains two subjects, as above described; in a portion of No. 8 the homage or dulia to St. Peter is represented, and in No. 11 the subject of Peter and Paul accused before Nero of despising the idols (sometimes improperly called Paul before Felix), occupies nearly half the space: in the background Paul is also seen led to martyrdom.

Some writers on Art seem to have attributed all these frescos indiscriminately to Masaccio; others have considered the best portions to be his; the accuracy of German investigation has perhaps finally settled the distribution as above. According to this, the observations of Reynolds (Discourse 12,) respecting Raphael's imitation of some of these figures, would only prove that the great painter thought Lippi and Masolino worth borrowing from, as well as Masaccio.—Ed.]

the flat surface, the *modelling* of the forms, hitherto only faintly indicated, here begin to give the effect of actual life. In this respect, again, these pictures exhibit at once a beginning and successful progress, for in the Tribute Money (No. 2), many parts are hard and stiff; the strongest light is not placed in the middle, but at the edge of the figures; while in the Resuscitation of the Boy (No. 8), the figures appear in perfect reality before the spectator. Moreover we find a style of drapery, freed from the habitual typelike manner of the earlier periods, and dependent only on the form underneath, at the same time expressing dignity of movement by broad masses and grand lines. Lastly, we remark a peculiar style of composition, which, in the Resuscitation of the Boy, supposed to be Masaccio's last picture, exhibits a powerful feeling for truth and individuality of character. The event itself includes but few persons, but a great number of spectators are disposed around, who, not taking a very lively interest in what is passing, merely present a picture of sterling serious manhood; in each figure we read a worthy fulfilment of the occupations and duties of life. The high poetic completeness of which this circumscribed and seemingly subordinate aim in composition is capable, will be found very remarkably displayed in the works of a later Florentine, Domenico Ghirlandajo.

Nothing certain is known of any easel-pictures by Masaccio; single heads are sometimes attributed to him, which, in the study of form and modelling, resemble these frescos. An excellent head of an old man, in 3
the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence, bears his name.

4 In the collection of the Academy also, an extremely beautiful, severe, and dignified picture is attributed to him—a Madonna and Child sitting in the lap of St. Anna—a most beautiful conception of this subject, afterwards adopted by Fra Bartolommeo.

§ XL. It is not known whether Masaccio had any scholars: the Carmelite monk, Fra Filippo Lippi (born about 1412, died 1469), who is named as one, formed his style, it appears, from the works of Masaccio which adorned the church of his Order at Florence. But the dignified seriousness of Masaccio's conceptions of life gives place in the works of Fra Filippo to a sensual feeling, and a complacency in the incidents of vulgar
1 nature. This tendency corresponds with the external circumstances of his life, in which, and in his actions, he forms the strongest contrast to his contemporary and spiritual brother Fiesole. When a child he became a member of the Order, but it sent him back into the world; he left the convent in his seventeenth year. Amusing himself one day with some friends, on an excursion at sea, they were suddenly attacked by pirates, and carried as slaves to Barbary. During eighteen months Filippo bore his chains, when one day he drew so striking a likeness of his master with a coal upon the wall, that the Moor rewarded him with his freedom, and, after he had painted several pictures, gave him rich presents and sent him home. But his whole life was a romance*: he carried off from the convent of Sta

* [The late Danish historian of Art, Dr. Gaye, in his 'Carteggio d' Artisti,' has published two letters by Filippo Lippi. In one of

Margherita, at Prato, Lucrezia Buti, with whom he afterwards lived; he died suddenly, and, as it was suspected, by poison, administered by the relations of Lucrezia. The Pope's dispensation for his marriage with her, obtained by the interest of his powerful patrons the Medici, arrived too late. A son, who was the fruit of this union, inherited his father's name and talents.

Fra Filippo's most important works are the frescos in 2
the choir of the Duomo at Prato. On the left wall he represented the History of St. Stephen, in several compartments, one over the other; on the right, that of St. John the Baptist; and on the wall where the window is, several figures of Saints. These paintings, which are on a large scale (particularly the lower ones), display a certain grandeur, especially the single figures of saints; but this grandeur is not altogether genuine, and seems to want inward repose. Some of the heads of the young women and choristers are in like manner not without grace, but it is a grace with which some degree of coarseness is generally mingled. These works are however full of character, and sometimes show a humorous conception of life; the artist has even introduced sharpers and low characters, painted from nature, though, it must be confessed, not always in the appropriate place. The compositions, considered generally, display feeling and an impetuous, ardent mind.

The frescos which Filippo painted in the choir of the 3

these (1439) the painter represents himself in great poverty, and as having to provide for several poor relations. "The style of this letter," Dr. Gaye observes, "does not at all indicate that levity of character which Vasari imputes to him;" at the same time there is nothing that directly contradicts the above statement.—ED.]

Duomo at Spoleto are less important, and have been besides very much painted over. In some of his easel-pictures, his coarseness gives way to a soft and pleasing *naïveté*. One of the best is the death of St. Bernard, placed in the transept of the Duomo at Prato; in this there is a beautiful and appropriate expression of feeling. Another is in the residence of the chancellor of Prato: this picture was formerly in Sta Margherita; the head of the Madonna is the portrait of Lucrezia Buti. A Madonna Adoring the Infant lying in flowers, is in the Berlin Museum: a similar picture is in the Florentine Academy. A Coronation of the Virgin, in the same collection, formerly in S. Ambrogio at Florence, is full of figures, and contains, among others, the portrait of the artist: even here the angels and saints have physiognomies rather expressive of sensual reminiscences than of moral dignity. The Adoration of the Kings, the Presentation, and the Massacre of the Innocents, are painted on the Predella* with grace and delicacy.

Sandro Botticelli (1437—1515) was a scholar of Fra Filippo. His own name was Alessandro Filipepi, but

* The altar decoration was sometimes composed of a variety of subjects; the chief painting was often surmounted by a smaller, sometimes rectangular, but more frequently semicircular: the flat frame was generally painted with arabesques, heads or single figures; and lastly, the step (*gradino*, *predella*) on the top of the altar was adorned with small pictures, generally three or five in number. Sometimes the principal painting had folding doors or wings, which could be closed upon it; these wings were painted inside and out, and on the inside commonly contained the portraits of the donors, who thus knelt on each side of the principal subject. The last form and treatment, less common in Italy, are almost universal in the early Flemish and German altarpieces.

he derived his surname Botticelli from his first master, a goldsmith. All the impetuosity and energy of action which are observable in the historical works of Fra Filippo were transferred to the pupil, united with a peculiar and fanciful mode of conception, and an endeavour to elevate his subject above the common. In some cases 9
he was eminently successful, particularly in a round picture in the gallery of the Uffizj, at Florence, representing a Madonna crowned by Angels. This picture, especially as regards the heads, is very interesting; the Madonna is the beautiful original of the female heads repeated in almost all similar pictures by this master; in less happy specimens, its characteristics are exaggerated even to repulsiveness. Another excellent picture by 10
this artist hangs next to the last-mentioned. In the Academy at Florence there is a large altarpiece, a Corona- 11
tion of the Virgin, with the Four Doctors of the Church; the heads of the latter are remarkably well painted. Other works by this painter—for example the greater part of those in the Berlin Museum—are of less interest. 12

The fanciful bias of Sandro's manner is more apparent in his historical pictures properly so called, particularly in those which begin to introduce the antique mythe and allegory into modern Art; in these however the artist often exhibits much mannerism: among them are some very small and neatly-executed pictures: for example, his allegorical representation of Calumny (after Lu- 13
cian's description of a picture by Apelles), in the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence, and a picture represent- 14
ing the miracles and death of S. Zenobio, in the collection of Von Quandt at Dresden. We find Sandro

as a fresco-painter in the Sistine chapel of the Vatican, erected under Sixtus IV., and embellished with frescos by all the most celebrated painters of the time, about 1474*. On one side of the chapel are subjects from the

* [This chapel was built under the auspices of Sixtus IV., in 1473, by Baccio Pintelli, a Florentine architect; its length is nearly 150 feet, and its breadth one third of that extent: it has two entrances, a principal one opposite the altar, and a small one in the corner to the right of the altar, leading to the Pope's apartments. The larger portion of the chapel, which is devoted to the church service, is divided from the rest by a balustrade. The principal entablature, at a considerable height from the pavement, forms a narrow gallery, protected by an iron railing, round three sides of the chapel: the end wall, where Michael Angelo's Last Judgement is, is of course unbroken. Between this gallery and the springing of the vaulted roof are the windows, six on each side; on the wall opposite the altar are two painted windows to correspond. The space under the windows is divided horizontally into two portions; the lower is merely painted with imitations of hangings, the upper contains the subjects from the life of Moses and Christ. A description of these may not be out of place here. On the end wall, over and on each side of the altar, were three frescos by Perugino, all afterwards destroyed to make room for the Last Judgement by Michael Angelo. The subject over the altar was the Assumption of the Virgin,—in this Pope Sixtus IV. was introduced, kneeling; on the left of this was Moses in the Bulrushes, on the right, Christ in the Manger; the other paintings still exist, more or less well preserved. Six subjects are on each of the side walls, and two on each side of the principal entrance. The subjects from the life of Moses on the left are all intended, like the first-named, to have a typical reference to the corresponding representations on the right, from the life of Christ. The order and relation are as follow: 1. Moses and Zipporah on their way to Egypt, the Circumcision of their Son (Exod. iv. 24.) [Luca Signorelli]. 1. The Baptism of Christ [Perugino]. 2. Moses Overcoming the Egyptian, and again, Driving away the Shepherds who hindered the Daughters of Jethro from Drawing Water (Exod. ii. 11. 17.) [Sandro Botticelli]. 2. The Temptation, or Christ Overcoming the Power of Satan [Sandro

history of Moses—on the other, from that of Christ. Three subjects are by Sandro, to whom the superintendence of the work was entrusted, viz. Moses Killing the Egyptian, the Rebellion of Korah, and the Temptation of Christ: they exemplify both the merits and defects of the artist: he painted besides twenty-eight figures of Popes between the windows.

The son of Fra Filippo Lippi, called, to distinguish him from his father, Filippino Lippi (1460–1505), was a scholar of Sandro Botticelli. In his historical pictures he approaches the impetuous feeling of his master, united at times with a peculiar gracefulness, at others

Botticelli]. 3. Moses and the Israelites after the Passage of the Red Sea [Cosimo Rosselli]. 3. The Calling of various Apostles (Peter, Andrew, James and John) from the Lake of Gennesareth [Domenico Ghirlandajo]. 4. Moses Giving the Commandments from the Mount [Cosimo Rosselli]. 4. Christ Preaching on the Mount [Cosimo Rosselli]. 5. The Punishment of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, who aspired, uncalled, to the priesthood (Numb. xvi. 31.) [Sandro Botticelli]. 5. The Sacrament of Holy Orders, or Christ Giving the Keys to Peter [Perugino]. 6. Moses before his Death Giving his Last Commands to Joshua [Luca Signorelli]. 6. The Last Supper [Cosimo Rosselli]. 7. Michael, Victorious over Satan, bears away the Body of Moses (Jude 9.) [Cecchino Salviati]. 7. The Resurrection [Domenico Ghirlandajo]. The two last-named pictures on each side of the principal entrance were materially injured by the sinking of the architrave, and were afterwards badly repaired. Many of these compositions contain more than one moment of time, and all are remarkable for the crowds of portrait-like spectators, in imitation of Masaccio. The two best are the Moses and Zipporah by Signorelli, and the Holy Orders by Perugino. Cosimo Rosselli, knowing the taste of the Pope, covered his paintings with gold (even the lights on the figures are sometimes thus heightened), and, to the dismay of the other painters, his Holiness expressed himself best pleased with Cosimo's performances.—See Taja, Descrizione del Vaticano; and Plattner and Bunsen, Beschreibung der Stadt Rom. —Ed.]

with a certain heaviness, particularly in the folds of his
16 drapery. Among his best and most finished historical works are those in the Brancacci chapel, in the Carmelite church at Florence, in which he successfully approaches the seriousness and genuine truth of Masaccio, although he never equals him in simplicity and repose. The fres-
17 cos which Filippino executed in a chapel in Sta Maria
18 Novella at Florence, and in that of St. Thomas Aquinas in Sta Maria sopra Minerva at Rome, have little merit except in single heads. Among the other works
19 of this painter, a fresco in a small chapel at Prato, near Sta Margherita, deserves especial mention: it represents a Madonna and Child, with Angels and Saints; the work is much injured and painted over, but a few heads still preserved, are extremely sweet and graceful. The easel-pictures of Filippino are, on the whole, not of much merit; one of the best, an Adoration of the
20 Kings, is in the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence.

§ XLI. A second artist, employed in the Sistine chapel, was Cosimo Rosselli. His best work is a large fresco*
1 in a very dark chapel in S. Ambrogio, at Florence, painted in 1456; it represents the removal of a miraculous sacramental cup from the church of S. Ambrogio to the bishop's palace. Here, as already remarked in the instance of Masaccio, the greater part of the composition consists of mere spectators; among these we find very pleasing female heads, and dignified male figures. The costume, which is that of the time, is
2 finished with remarkable precision. Among Cosimo's

* Engraved in Lasinio's Collection from the old Florentine Masters.

best pictures may be mentioned an admirable Coronation of the Virgin, in Sta Maria Maddelena de' Pazzi, at Florence. There is also an excellent altarpiece by 3
him in S. Ambrogio, a Madonna, with Angels and Saints. Other works by the same painter, some not without interest, are in the Berlin Museum. His frescos in the 4
Sistine chapel—Pharaoh in the Red Sea, Moses giving the Commandments, Christ's Sermon on the Mount, and the Last Supper—have little interest.

§ XLII. In his earliest works Cosimo Rosselli had followed the manner of Fiesole, but he afterwards inclined to that of Masaccio. Another artist of this time, 1
Benozzo Gozzoli, is distinctly mentioned as a scholar of Fiesole, and indeed his light and cheerful colouring and general mildness of expression, have an affinity with the style of that master. In every other respect he differs widely from Fiesole, for of all the Italians he is precisely the painter who seems to have been first smitten with the beauty of the material world and its various appearances. His pictures overflow with the delighted sense of this beauty: he was the first to create rich landscape backgrounds, with trees, villas, cities, with rivers and richly-cultivated valleys, with bold rocks, etc. He enlivens this landscape most agreeably with animals of all kinds, dogs, hares, deer, and large and small birds, which are introduced wherever there is room. When the incident takes place in the interior of cities or dwellings, he displays the richest fancy for architectural forms, representing halls with open porticos, elegant arcades, galleries, balconies, etc., all in a

beautiful Florentine style. In the representations of the human figure, we find gaiety and whim, feeling and holy dignity, in the happiest union; but in this instance again, the artist, not satisfied with the figures necessary to the action, peoples landscape and architecture with groups, and very generally surrounds the principal actors with a circle of spectators, among whom are introduced portraits of the painter's contemporaries, to whom he has thus raised a memorial. In movement and cast of drapery, Benozzo's figures, taken singly, are often very graceful, although marked by an almost feminine, timidity of gait and gesture; the heads are very expressive—the portraits, true to nature, and delicately felt.

2 Some of the earlier works of Benozzo, of the year 1450, are in the churches of S. Fortunato and S. Francesco*, at Montelfalco (a small town not far from Fuligno); in these the resemblance to Fiesole is still 3 visible. His own peculiarities are developed in later works of the year 1465, at S. Gemignano, near Volterra (those in S. Agostino are particularly deserving 4 of mention†), but most completely in the large frescos with which he embellished the whole north wall of the

* Compare Rumohr: Ital. Forsch., ii. 257, etc.

† [A letter of Benozzo's, dated S. Gemignano, 1467, is published in Dr. Gaye's collection, together with an extract from the journal of Giusto di Andrea, one of the painter's assistants in S. Agostino. Giusto particularizes all the parts done by his own hand. Three other interesting letters, addressed by Benozzo to Pietro de' Medici in 1459, also published by Dr. Gaye, relate to the Adoration of the Magi (not mentioned by the author), in the private chapel of the Medici.—ED.]

Campo Santo at Pisa*, with the exception of that portion occupied by the works of Pietro di Puccio already mentioned. Benozzo executed the frescos in question between the years 1469 and 1485: they form a continuation, both in situation and subject, of the works of Pietro, and represent the History of the Old Testament from the time of Noah to the Visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon, in a thronged and overflowing series. The greater part is in good preservation, and forms one of the most interesting monuments of Art of the fifteenth century.

§ XLIII. That which appears a youthful exuberance in Benozzo, assumes the character of manly energy, seriousness, and solidity, in a somewhat later painter;—this was Domenico Corradi, or Ghirlandajo (1451–95), one of the greatest masters of his own or any age, who carried to perfection what Masaccio had conceived and begun. His father was a goldsmith of repute; it is said that the garlands which he manufactured for the Florentine women†, were so much in favour, that he

* C. Lasinio: Pitt. a fresco del Campo Santo di Pisa.

† [Most of the great Florentine artists, sculptors, and architects, as well as painters, were originally goldsmiths. The editors of the last editions and translations of Vasari enumerate Orgagna, Luca della Robbia, Ghiberti, Brunelleschi, Verrocchio, Andrea del Sarto, Cellini, and others. It has been remarked that the style of relief which is suitable to the precious metals (but which is unsuitable to marble or bronze), may have had its influence in forming the general taste of the Florentines in sculpture. The 'garlands' above-mentioned were probably silver ornaments (see Vasari, Life of Ghirlandajo). In a severer age these ornaments were forbidden; in the

thence obtained the surname of Ghirlandajo, which descended to his son. The latter was also originally intended for a goldsmith, but early showed his talent for painting, in the striking likenesses he drew of the passers-by, whilst yet a boy in his father's shop. His first teacher was Alessio Baldovinetti, a comparatively unimportant artist of the fifteenth century. The direction which Art had now taken was carried to a perfection of a peculiar kind by Domenico Ghirlandajo; the aim of the artist in this instance was no longer external form for itself, no longer a beautiful and true imitation of the circumstances of nature in the abstract: it was a predilection for particular forms, for particular circumstances, and especially for grand and important relations of life, for the glory and dignity of his native city, which, as we have before remarked, had attained at this time the zenith of her greatness. The *portrait*, in the largest signification of the word, is the prominent characteristic in the productions of Ghirlandajo. Thus, above all, we find the *motive*—which in earlier masters appeared more the result of accidental observation—in him completely and consistently followed out. He introduced portraits of contemporaries into his church-historical representations, thus raising to them an honourable memorial; not, however, introducing them

extracts from the 'Archivio delle Riformagioni di Firenze,' published by Dr. Gaye (Carteggio d'Artisti), we read (March 1307.): "Quod nulla mulier presumat deferre in capite coronam auream vel argenteam." A fashion alluded to in another prohibition of the same date, explains the long trains of the women in the early Florentine pictures: "item quod nulla mulier audeat portare vestes trannantes (*sic*) ultro quod unum brachium per terram de retro."—ED.]

as the holy personages themselves, as was the practice among the painters of the Netherlands, and in Germany. Simple and tranquil, in the costume of their time, these personages stand by as spectators, or rather witnesses, of the holy incident represented, and frequently occupy the principal place in the picture. They are generally arranged somewhat symmetrically in detached groups, thus giving to the whole a peculiarly solemn effect: in their relation to the actual subject of the picture, they may be compared with the chorus of the Greek tragedy. Ghirlandajo, again, usually places the scene of the sacred event in the domestic and citizen life of the time, and introduces, with the real costume of the spectators, the architecture of Florence, in the richest display and complete perspective, without degenerating into those fantastic combinations which we find in Benozzo Gozzoli. In addition to all this, it must not be forgotten that the cultivation of Art had softened the manners and education of the time to a gentle dignity and moderation, so that, even as regards the costume in the works of Ghirlandajo, nothing unpicturesque or quaint obtrudes to disturb the effect. The saints retain their well-known ideal drapery, not without reminiscences of the style of the fourteenth century. A third element is moreover apparent, derived from a particular study of antique *motives* of the light and animated kind, especially of antique drapery: this study is to be traced in accessory female figures. In the execution of the details a certain degree of severity is still observable, especially in the outlines; it can scarcely however be called a

defect. The forms are perfectly well imitated, and the peculiarities of nature successfully caught. In the technical management of fresco Ghirlandajo exhibits an unsurpassed finish.

2 Among the earliest works of Ghirlandajo are those which he executed in emulation of the other artists employed in the decoration of the Sistine chapel. None of them exist at present except the Calling of Peter and Andrew, a clever picture, full of life. A Resurrection of Christ was obliterated to make way for the Last Judgement of Michael Angelo *. His fresco of St.
3 Jerome† in the nave of the church of Ognissanti at Florence, is somewhat later in date (1480). The accessories present a perfect specimen of still-life painting in the manner of the Flemish painters of that time. A
4 Last Supper in the refectory shows a successful endeavour to give to each head a characteristic expression. These works in Ognissanti are in a peculiarly simple and severe style.

5 In the frescos of the Sassetti chapel in Sta Trinità‡, at Florence, Ghirlandajo appears still more excellent, in the treatment of the forms, in the free action of the

* [The author is mistaken in saying that a fresco by Ghirlandajo was destroyed to make way for the Last Judgement of M. Angelo: the three that were destroyed were all by Perugino. The Resurrection by Ghirlandajo, which is at the right of the principal entrance, was injured from another cause and badly repaired: see note § XL. 15.—Ed.]

† The corresponding painting, representing St. Augustine, is by Sandro Botticelli.

‡ Ghirlandajo's paintings in S^tr^ Trinità, and Sta M. Novella, are engraved in Lasinio's Collections.

figures, in the painting and lighting up of the flesh (which had been deficient in warmth in his earlier pictures), and in the expression and conception of life. They are inscribed with the date 1485, and represent events from the life of St. Francis. The Death of the Saint is the most beautiful of these pictures, and one of the few really historical works of Ghirlandajo. The simple, solemn arrangement of the whole, the artless unaffected dignity of the single figures, the noble, manly expression of sorrowing sympathy, the perfection of the execution—combine to place this picture among the most excellent of modern Art. For the rest, the paintings in this chapel are not all of equal merit; in those on the left wall particularly, the assistance of scholars is very evident. The paintings which Ghirlandajo executed 6
in the choir of Sta Maria Novella at Florence, in 1490, are still more perfect in their general qualities; on one side is the Life of the Virgin, on the other that of John the Baptist; these works are excellent examples of the prominent characteristics of the master.

The peculiar beauties of this painter's style are not so much developed in his easel-pictures; these cannot in general lay claim to equal merit with the frescos. Among them however we find some very distinguished works, particularly at Florence. At the church Agli Inno- 7
centi is a beautiful Adoration of the Kings, dated 1488, in which are some excellent heads from nature, especially among the accessory figures. Two admirable pic- 8
tures are in the Florentine Academy, both remarkable for very sweet and graceful Madonnas, which do not occur very frequently in the works of Ghirlandajo.

9 His brothers Davide and Benedetto painted in his manner, and assisted him in his works, as did his brother-in-law Bastiano Mainardi, who, if not equal to Domenico in the management of the colours and in giving rotundity, has something peculiarly his own, in his delicate conception of the characters of Christian saints;
10 his best works are in the parish church of the town of San Gemignano, his birth-place, in the chapel of the Beata Fine*. Francesco Granacci too, one of the scholars of Domenico, unites with his master's style a lighter grace, without however attaining the same life and
11 energy. There are some good pictures by him in the
12 Pitti gallery, and in the Uffizj at Florence, several also
13 in the Academy, where a series of small pictures, representing the Martyrdom of St Apollonia, is particularly noted. At a later time Francesco inclined more to the manner of his great contemporary, Michael Angelo Buonarotti, who, as well as Domenico's son, Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, belongs to the succeeding period.

1 § XLIV. Whilst among the last-named masters a taste for portrait was predominant, among others a strong predilection for the study of the nude prevailed, a study which had been already promoted by the powerful example of Masaccio. Of these painters we may first mention Andrea del Castagno, who flourished about the middle of the century. His particular aim, a sharp severe *modelling* of the form, degenerated through mannerism and exaggeration into a hard, meagre dryness.
2 Some of his pictures in this style are in the Florentine

* Rumohr: Ital. Forsch. ii. 286.

Academy; others are in the Berlin Museum. He is 3
more known in the history of Art by a heavy disgrace
attached to his name, than by the small number of his
works still in existence. Until his time, distemper-colours had been used in painting, that is, colour mixed with yolk of egg and resins, which dried quickly and required a rapid execution. But in the beginning of the century oil painting was so much improved by Johann van Eyck, in the Netherlands, that it began to be employed with the happiest effect. From him it had been learned as a secret, by an Italian, Antonello da Messina (of whom we shall again have occasion to speak), who imparted it as such to his friend Domenico Veneziano. The great sensation created by the pictures of the latter excited the envy of Andrea; he insinuated himself into the confidence of Domenico, while they painted together in Sta Maria Novella at Florence, and drew from him his secret. Domenico was of a light-hearted, joyous disposition, was fond of music, played well on the lute, and was assisted by Andrea when he serenaded his mistress. One evening Andrea allowed him to go alone, followed him secretly in the dark, and murdered him, that he might thus be without a rival in the art. On his death-bed he is said to have confessed his crime. Whether this story, as related by Vasari, can be admitted as genuine history, is a question which we leave to its own merits. The one acknowledged picture by 4
Domenico in Sta Lucia at Florence, beyond the Arno, is painted not in oil but in distemper, as are also the existing works of Andrea. The picture in question by Domenico rather varies from the manner of the latter,

and has something mild and noble in the expression, while it likewise evinces a good feeling for form*. It is to be assumed also, that distemper, which offered so many advantages in the rapid painting of a large surface, yielded to oil painting only by degrees, and toward the end of the century.

5 The study of the naked form was much advanced through the influence of sculpture: this art (particularly casting in bronze) was cultivated at the time in Florence with the greatest success, and more extensively than painting. The experience thus gained by an accurate anatomical knowledge of the human frame could not fail to be immediately transferred to painting. This was chiefly effected by two sculptors, who handled the pencil as well as the chisel,—Antonio Pollajuolo and Andrea Verocchio ('the keen-sighted'), who both flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century. It is said that Andrea first took plaster casts from the limbs, as materials for study. Both have left excellent works in sculpture: in painting they are less remarkable, and show too great an anxiety to mark the forms with anatomical
6 correctness. There are some pictures by Antonio Pollajuolo in the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence; two, with different Labours of Hercules, fully exemplify what we have just said; a third, with three Saints standing together, is distinguished by a peculiar simple dignity, notwithstanding all its hardness. One picture by Verocchio
7 is in the Academy: it represents a Baptism of Christ, originally painted for the monastery of S. Salvi. It is

* [A letter from Domenico Veneziano to Pietro de' Medici, dated Perugia, April 1438, is given in Dr. Gaye's collection.—ED.]

said that one of the angels in this picture was painted by a scholar of Andrea, viz. Leonardo da Vinci, and that the master, seeing himself so much excelled by his pupil, gave up painting for ever. Yet in the present condition of the picture, this angel is scarcely to be distinguished from the other figures, nor is the picture itself particularly excellent. We shall return to Leonardo and some other of Andrea's scholars.

This peculiar aim attained its perfection in another master of the Tuscan school, Luca Signorelli of Cortona, who flourished about the close of the fifteenth century (1440–1521). Among the different artists 8
who painted in the Sistine chapel in the Vatican, he was distinguished as one of the best. He represented the Journey of Moses with Zipporah, and the closing events of the lawgiver's life—both very grand pictures; the figures have meaning and dignity, and the draperies are well treated. His peculiar powers were best deve- 9
loped in the frescos with which he embellished a chapel in the Duomo at Orvieto. These represent the End of the World*, and contain the History of Antichrist †,

* Engravings in Della Valle: Storia del Duomo d'Orvieto; Roma, 1791.

† [The usual Biblical and theological subjects which appear to have been authorized during the middle ages, were adopted by the great painters, with no other change than that of superior treatment. These illustrations existed originally in illuminated MSS., and when wood-engraving was invented, the same subjects, and sometimes precisely the same designs, were repeated. The wild mystery called the History of Antichrist may perhaps be less ancient, or, being probably of Greek origin, may have been less known among the Italian and German painters than the usual Scriptural and legendary subjects. The block-book, 'Der Entkrist,'

with figures full of character, and also the Resurrection, Hell and Paradise; compositions all replete with meaning, action and expression. A severe but perfect and noble drawing of the nude is observable in these pictures, and is conducted with fondness and success; the anxious striving for mere anatomical correctness disappears, and gives place to a peculiar grandeur and elevation, which is stamped alike on scenes of tranquillity and beatitude and on representations of vehement and fantastic action. Luca also appears to advantage here in drapery, and displays in some instances a happy imitation of the antique.

10 In his native city of Cortona also there are works by this master; several are in the choir of the Duomo. A
11 Last Supper, by him, in the church of Gesù in the same city, is a singular and expressive picture*. Here, instead of being seated as usual at a long table, the dis-

printed about 1470, was not however the first that added this series of representations to those in general use; since a similar work, the 'Historia Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ, ejusque visiones Apocalypticæ,' appeared more than twenty years earlier. Luca Signorelli appears to have adopted his general inventions at Orvieto (the frescos were begun in 1499) from these or similar sources. A sufficient proof may be found in the fact that the remarkable fable of the beheading of Elijah and Enoch in both the illustrations alluded to (apparently suggested by a passage in the Apocalypse, xi. 7.) also occurs in Signorelli's principal fresco, and this is but one among many points of resemblance. The German author, or artist, constantly refers to a 'Compendium Theologiæ' ("davon stat auch geschrieben in dem puch Compendio Theologie"), a book or MS. probably in the hands of most monks of the fifteenth century. See also the rubric 'De Adventu Domini,' in the Aurea Legenda.—Ed.]

* Engraving in the Etruria Pittrice.

ciples kneel at each side of Christ, who stands in the 12
midst distributing the holy meal. The frescos which
Luca Signorelli executed in the monastery of Monte
Uliveto Maggiore, from the life of St. Benedict, are not
less excellent: several works by the same master are
preserved in the Florentine galleries; among them may
be especially mentioned a Virgin and Child, with shep- 13
herds in the distance; this specimen is in the gallery of
the Uffizj. In some of these pictures we observe influ-
ences of the sixteenth century, which however do not
combine quite happily with the peculiarities of Signo-
relli's style. In the gallery of the Berlin Museum are
two excellent side-panels of an altarpiece, with figures 14
of different Saints.

CHAPTER II.

SCHOOLS OF PADUA AND VENICE.

§ XLV. AMONG the Florentines the study of form was chiefly pursued on a principle of direct reference to nature, as their especial object was an imitation of the common appearances and circumstances of life. In the school of Padua, on the contrary, the masterpieces 1
of antique sculpture, in which the common forms of nature were already raised to an ideal beauty, were taken as immediate models, by means of which the artist hoped to attain the desired end. This direction may be compared with that already spoken of as existing among the contemporaries of the celebrated sculptor Nicola Pisano; but it is more decided in the Paduan

school, and carried out more exclusively, particularly as regards the early Christian representations, to which but little regard was now paid. The occasional imitation of the antique, which we have remarked among the Florentines of the fifteenth century, is to be considered as merely accidental, and may perhaps be ascribed to a direct influence of the Paduan school.

This school has consequently the merit of having been chiefly instrumental in introducing the rich results of an earlier long-forgotten excellence in art (viz. the remains of antique sculpture) to modern practice, and of having led the way in applying them. Generally speaking, its peculiarity consists in a style of conception and treatment more plastic than pictorial. The forms are severely and sharply defined: the drapery is often ideally treated according to the antique costume, so much so, that, in order to allow the forms of the body to appear more marked, it generally appears clinging to the figure. The general arrangement more frequently resembles that of basso-rilievo than of rounded groups. The accessories display in like manner a special attention to antique models, particularly in the architecture and ornaments: the imitation of antique embellishments is very perceptible in the frequent introduction of festoons of fruit in the pictures of this school. The study of sculpture introduced, however, an exaggerated sharpness in the marking of the forms, which sometimes bordered on excess. In the drapery, the same imitation led to the use of a multitude of small, sharp, oblique folds, which break the large flowing lines, and sometimes even injure the effect of the leading forms.

The founder of this school was Francesco Squar- 2
cione, 1394–1474. This artist travelled in Italy and Greece, collecting as many remains of ancient art as he could—statues, torsos, reliefs, vases, etc.—and made drawings from such specimens besides. On his return to Padua, he threw open his collection, which surpassed in extent all others of the time: it soon attracted a great number of scholars, anxious to avail themselves of the advantages it offered. By these scholars, who poured in from all parts of Italy, the manner of the school was afterwards spread throughout a great portion of the country. Squarcione himself is more distinguished as an excellent teacher than as an artist; the few of his works which remain are unimportant. Among them may be 3
mentioned a not very graceful Madonna and Child in the Manfrini gallery at Venice, with the artist's name and the date 1442, and a picture in the collection of the 4
Palazzo del Consiglio at Verona, representing the Emperor Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl; this has at least the evidence of very careful study.

§ XLVI. Of the scholars of Squarcione the most important was Andrea Mantegna (1431–1506): he was by birth a Paduan, but having been invited to the court of Lodovico Gonzaga, in Mantua, that city became the chief theatre of his exertions. His works originally executed there are however for the most part destroyed or dispersed in foreign museums; a few only remain in 1
the Castello di Corte. A saloon of this castle, which now bears the name of the "Stanza di Mantegna," was originally covered with frescos; some of them, repre-

senting incidents from the life of Lodovico Gonzaga, are still to be seen—mere portraits, admirably true in individual character, but sufficiently stiff in the general treatment. A Group of Genii holding an inscribed tablet over a door is very natural and full of life. Another, on the ceiling of the same saloon, was
2 painted by his sons. The cartoons* executed by Mantegna at the instance of the same prince, for the saloon of a palace near the monastery of St. Sebastian at Mantua, are more important than the frescos. These drawings executed in water-colours are nine in number, each nine feet square, and are at present in the palace at Hampton Court in England. The subject is the Triumphal Procession of Cæsar, a grand and very spirited composition, in which an intimate knowledge of the antique is united in the happiest manner with a feeling for nature and reality. These works have suffered, and are much painted over†. Mantegna, who was also one of the first engravers of Italy, engraved many parts of this great composition with his own hand.

3 A large altarpiece, representing a Madonna surrounded by Saints, with Francesco Gonzaga and his wife kneeling at her feet, is still more remarkable than these cartoons. It is a dedication-picture for a victory obtained by Gonzaga over Charles the Eighth of France, in 1495, and among the Italians is known by

* Goethe's Works, V. 39. p. 141–176.—C. Julii Caesaris dictatoris triumphi ab Andrea Mantinea coloribus expressi aeneis typis Dominici de Rubeis; Romae, 1692.

† [This is denied by some authorities: see Jesse's "Hampton Court."—Ed.]

the name of the "Madonna della Vittoria*." It is remarkable for its admirable execution, and, which is rare in the works of Mantegna, for a peculiarly soft treatment of the naked forms, as well as an agreeable mildness of character. It is now in the museum of the Louvre. Among other pictures by Mantegna in Paris, two, with 4 mythic-allegoric figures, are distinguished by similar qualities. Next in excellence to the Vittoria is a Pietà† 5 (a Dead Christ between two Angels), in the Berlin Museum. The head of the Saviour is extremely grand in its forms; the expression of the angels, especially of the one in soft half-shadow, is full of soul.

One of the most important of Mantegna's easel-pictures in Italy is that over the altar in the church of S. Zeno, in Verona—a Madonna Enthroned, with Angels, and four Saints on each side. Rich architecture, adorned in front with festoons of fruit, surrounds the composition. The Madonna, on whose lap the Infant is standing, is unaffected, dignified, and sweet. Some of the saints also have admirable heads, and are grandly draped. Not less excellent is an Entombment of Christ, 7 in the gallery of the Vatican; and among the productions most characteristic of Mantegna and his school 8 may be mentioned the frescos in the Cappella di S. Jacopo in the Eremitani at Padua. Some small pictures, 9 remarkable for peculiar neatness of finish and accurate study, are in the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence; the most important is a small altarpiece representing the Adoration of the Kings, and on the side-panels the Cir-

* Propyläen herausgegeben von Goethe, iii. st. 2. p. 48.

† [The term 'Pietà' is appropriated by the Italians to pictures of the dead Saviour, generally in the lap of the Madonna.—ED.]

10 cumcision and Ascension of Christ. Other specimens
11 are in the public collections of Milan, Naples, etc.
12 Among the scholars of Mantegna, his sons may be first mentioned, particularly Francesco; it appears, from the instance above referred to, that they finished or con-
13 tinued his works at Mantua: also Bernardo Parentino, who in manner nearly approaches the master. Others, such as Carotto, etc., belong to the succeeding period.

§ XLVII. The remaining pupils of Squarcione cannot be placed in the same rank with Mantegna. Among
1 them are Gregorio Schiavone and Girolamo da Treviso*: specimens of their works are to be found in the Venetian territory. Marco Zoppo, a Bolognese, is commonly considered one of the best: in his pictures, however, all the peculiarities of the school are exaggerated in a barbarous manner; his figures have always a sort of clownish coarseness, his drapery is arranged, or rather mis-arranged, in heavy rolls. The accessories only remind us of the beautiful manner of the school. His
2 principal work, of the year 1471, is in the Museum at Berlin, and fully displays his unpleasing manner. An-
3 other, equally rude, a Madonna and Child, etc. is in the Manfrini gallery at Venice†.

* [Dario da Treviso was no doubt intended; Girolamo was not born when Squarcione died. A work by Girolamo, formerly in the church of S. Domenico at Bologna, and according to Vasari the best production of the artist, is now in the possession of Mr. Edward Solly.—Ed.]

† Both pictures are inscribed with the artist's name, 'Marco Zoppo da Bologna,' and 'Zoppo di Squarcione.' The graceful picture which is ascribed to him, in the Gallery of Bologna, can thus hardly be genuine.

Stefano da Ferrara appears to have been an artist of 4
more merit: his works, of which there are many in the Brera gallery at Milan, have a peculiarly fantastic character. This same manner is exaggerated to caricature in the works of a contemporary artist, Cosimo Tura of 5
Ferrara, called 'Il Cosmè': one of his best, a Madonna and Saints, under splendid but overloaded architecture, is in the Berlin Museum. He was the scholar of an earlier Ferrarese artist of note, Galasso Galassi.

With these may be connected the names of some later Ferrarese artists, in whose hands the style of the Paduan school appears to have been peculiarly developed. The most prominent are Francesco Cossa and Lorenzo Costa, who were both employed by Giovanni Bentivoglio, while he held the supreme sway in Bologna. A Madonna with 6
Saints, dated 1474, by the first-named artist, is in the Gallery of Bologna. A Madonna Enthroned, with the 7
family of the donor kneeling round her, by the latter, is in the Bentivoglio chapel, in S. Giacomo. This picture is of the year 1488. There is a resemblance between the pictures: both are characterized by a simple coarse conception of nature, allied to the Paduan manner*.

* ['A simple coarse conception of nature' hardly seems at first sight to characterize a school which had the merit of introducing the regular study of the antique (see § XLV. 1.); but the Paduan artists may be said to have rather copied antique fragments than antique taste and beauty. A hard and dry imitation of lifeless models led to a correct but indiscriminate imitation of nature. The principles of selection and generalization which the antique might teach, seemed to be quite foreign to the aim of these painters. On the other hand, their hard, conscientious truth, it must be admitted, often made amends for all defects by the charm of individuality.—Ed.]

8 Opposite the last-named work are two large allegorical subjects (the Triumph of Life and Death), also by Lorenzo Costa; although the figures still want life, these compositions are not without indications of feeling, which announce the development of this artist's style at a later period. But as this was owing to the influence of another master, Francesco Francia, it will be better explained when we treat of that artist (§ LX. 12).

The scholars formed by Lorenzo in Ferrara, on the whole rather adopted the fantastic manner which we have remarked among the elder Ferrarese artists. To these
9 scholars belong Ercole Grandi, a painter of whom no
10 very important work now remains, and Lodovico Mazzolino, who flourished in the beginning of the sixteenth century. An inclination to the singular and romantic pervades Lodovico's pictures, in which certain antique *motives* in attitude and drapery appear to be adopted more from caprice than true feeling; the heads are sharply characterized, sometimes even to exaggeration. The colouring, particularly in the draperies, is powerful
11 and bright. The most important of his works is in the Museum of Berlin; it furnishes an example of all we have said. It is marked with the date 1524, and represents Christ with the Doctors in the Temple. The youthful Christ is very graceful, but the wondering countenances of the Scribes and Pharisees are painted with very amusing quaintness. A great number of Mazzolino's pictures are in the same museum. In the
12 Doria palace at Rome, and in the gallery of the Capitol,
13 are also two pictures by this artist, both representing

the last-named subject. That in the Doria palace is ascribed to Dosso Dossi, and the other to Lippi.

Another Ferrarese of this time, Domenico Panetti, 14
is similar in style, and still clings to the early masters, without the fantastic turn of the last-mentioned artist. A beautiful Entombment, inscribed with his name, is in the Berlin Museum.

§ XLVIII. We now return once more to the Paduan school, a decided affinity to which is again apparent in Melozzo da Forlì, who, to judge from his works, may have been a scholar of Squarcione. On the vaulted ceil- 1
ing of a chapel in the church of the SS. Apostoli at Rome, he painted (1472) an Ascension of Christ and some Heads of Angels in a grand style of beauty, resembling the manner of Mantegna. When the chapel was rebuilt, some of these frescos were saved, and were removed to the Quirinal palace*. Another fresco in the gallery of the Vatican is ascribed to Melozzo: it repre- 2
sents Pope Sixtus IV. giving audience to several persons; it is a hard picture, but full of individual truth of character.

In Verona we find many traces of the Paduan school, 3
mixed however with other influences. We shall return to this subject hereafter (§ LIV.).

We find similar traces in Milan. Vincenzio Foppa 4
of Brescia, one of the most important masters who followed this style, flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century. One of his best pictures is a Martyr-

* D'Agincourt: Peint. pl. 142.

dom of St. Sebastian, a fresco taken from the church of the Brera, and now placed in the Gallery: it displays a rigorous study of form. His contemporary, Vincenzio Civerchio, resembles him. Toward the end of the century, the celebrated architect Bramante of Urbino was actively employed in Milan, where he appeared as a painter as well as architect: in general he resembles
5 Mantegna. A Martyrdom of St. Sebastian by him, in the church of this saint in Milan, is a distinguished
6 work, and not inferior are the frescos of a chapel in the Certosa at Pavia, which are ascribed to him on good grounds*. His scholar, Bartolommeo Suardi, who bore the name of Bramantino from his master, is more celebrated as a painter. One of his best works, a large
7 fresco, is in the Brera at Milan—a Madonna Enthroned, and two Angels. It is distinguished by an extremely soft modelling of the nude. Among the works of this
8 artist preserved in Milan, a Dead Christ mourned by the Marys is particularly celebrated: it is over the door of the church of S. Sepolcro; the foreshortening of the

* The education of Bramante as a painter is generally ascribed to Pietro della Francesca, an artist who was employed at the court of Urbino about the middle of the fifteenth century, and whose works exhibit some affinity with the school of Padua. This artist is chiefly celebrated for having advanced the knowledge of perspective. [Considering the claims of some painters in the author's catalogue, perhaps Pietro della Francesca deserved more honourable mention. His frescos at Arezzo, so highly extolled by Vasari, are now almost ruined; but at Borgo S. Sepolcro, his native place, several of his works still exist: the best is the fresco in the Monte di Pietà. See Passavant: Rafael von Urbino, i. 433. Some engraved specimens are given in Rosini's 'Storia della Pittura.' —Ed.]

body (the feet being nearest the eye) is said to be inimitable. To protect it from the weather, this picture is unfortunately shut up in glass and grating, so that no part of it can be thoroughly examined.

Toward the beginning of the sixteenth century Ambrogio Borgognone flourished in Milan, an artist who seems to have been less influenced by the Paduan school. It appears that his characteristic qualities are rather derived from the old school of Lombardy, so distinguished for a peculiar softness*. In Ambrogio's pictures we find no particular power, no satisfactory delineation of form; but the heads, especially those of infant angels, which he was fond of introducing, are distinguished by great gentleness and meekness of expression. Some of his works are to be seen in Milan; among them may be mentioned two frescos in the church of S. Ambrogio: Christ after the Resurrection, standing between two 9
Angels (on the wall of the choir near the side-aisle), and Christ Disputing with the Doctors (in the atrium of 10
the sacristy). There are two excellent pictures by him in 11
the Berlin Museum; one in particular, the Madonna Enthroned with two Angels at her side, deserves its high reputation. The tender innocence, the deep feeling of the young angels who worship the infant Christ, have perhaps never since been equalled.

In the works also of contemporary artists of Parma,

* Passavant (in his 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der alten Malerschulen in der Lombardei,' Tüb. Kunstblatt, 1838, No. 66, etc.) has given the first accurate and detailed account of the early Lombard school. He attributes the paintings, already mentioned, in the chapel of the Certosa at Pavia, together with other works in the same place, to Ambrogio Borgognone.

—in Filippo Mazzuola for example—we find an approach to the manner of the old Lombard school. There are two good pictures by him in the Museum at Naples.
12 In a subsequent chapter we shall have occasion to mention some other artists, who were employed in Milan at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, and whose influence is occasionally perceptible in the works of the masters just named. Above them all is Leonardo da Vinci, who, with his extensive school, belongs to this period.

§ XLIX. The school of Padua exercised an important influence on Art also in Venice, and in the first instance in the Vivarini family, established on the island of Murano, and mentioned in a former chapter. Antonio Vivarini flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century: his works are remarkable for a peculiar softness, the tints being singularly well blended. In the second half of this century we meet with Bartolommeo, no doubt a younger brother; his works, in opposition to this earlier style, have great sharpness and severity of drawing, quite in the Paduan manner. They display considerable ability, and generally a marked dignity; sometimes, as in the heads of the Madonna for example, we find a graceful action united with this hardness. The chief merit of this artist, who generally represents Madonnas surrounded by Saints, is the characteristic expression of his sacred figures. His pictures are not rare in the churches and collections of Venice; specimens are to be seen, for example, in SS. Giovanni e
1 Paolo, in Sta Maria de' Frari, in the Academy, etc.; they

are also frequent in foreign galleries, in those of Naples, 2
Berlin, etc.

Luigi Vivarini, a master of the same family, flourished toward the close of the fifteenth century: his works are similar to those of Bartolommeo, with something of the manner of Bellini, to whom we shall presently come. His pictures are also to be found in various galleries, in the Academy of Venice, the Museums of Naples and 3
Berlin, etc.

Carlo Crivelli, a contemporary of Bartolommeo, displays a similar severity; his works are very rare in Venice itself, but the galleries of the Brera at Milan 4
and of the Berlin Museum possess several pictures inscribed with his name.

We must also mention a picture of a certain Rugerius, marked with his name, now in the Museum of Berlin. 5
It represents St. Jerome seated, the right hand raised in the act of blessing; it is completely in the Paduan manner. The side-pictures, although in the same style, are by another hand. This Rugerius (Roger) is supposed to have come from the Netherlands; and indeed we are reminded, by the general arrangement of the figure of St. Jerome, though not by the execution, of Hubert van Eyck's representation of God the Father, in the celebrated altar-picture of Ghent.

§ L. Having examined the works of the artists of Venice who belong to the Paduan style, we can now enter more accurately into the characteristic qualities of the Venetian school, which unfolded itself in the second half of the fifteenth century, together with the schools

of Florence and Padua, thus contributing a third element toward the emancipation of Art in its external or imitative character. In the two first this was effected by the study of form and the laws which govern its appearances—drawing, modelling, chiaroscuro, etc., while colour was generally regarded as a subordinate quality. Among the Venetians, on the contrary, the element of colouring was all-important; and the consequence of this predilection was the ultimate development of the school to a peculiar excellence. We must here recollect that the older masters, Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni the German ('Alamanus'), had already displayed an excellence in colouring, particularly in the flesh, unknown before their time; and that Gentile da Fabriano had resided long in Venice and had left many scholars there, who no doubt adopted the gay and showy style of their master. We observe further (and to this point we shall return) that the Venetians were the first among the schools of Italy who practised oil-painting, the greater fluidity and juiciness of which, compared with distemper, were highly favourable to their peculiar aim. But it was the cheerful and festive spirit of the Venetians themselves, which, more than all, contributed to decide the tendency of the school*. In all that relates

* [As the Venetian school is acknowledged to be the first in colour, it is often too hastily assumed that its character from first to last was gay and joyous. Even in colour this is only occasionally true of Paul Veronese. The general style of the Venetian altar-pieces is grave, and it is remarkable that in expression no school of Italy is more serious. The smiling expressions of Leonardo da Vinci, Correggio and Raphael never occur in the Venetian Holy Families, and the pensiveness of mien and look in subjects of a lighter

to drawing, arrangement and embellishment, they leaned to the practice of the neighbouring school of Padua; but happily they avoided its exaggerated severity; and even as regards the qualities they adopted, they were perfectly independent whenever the original application or treatment was opposed to their own views. In general the predominant taste exhibits itself among the earlier Venetian artists more as a fondness for glittering magnificence and varied splendour; a perfectly harmonious union of colour was reserved for a later period. Historical compositions, properly so called, are rare in this school; where they do occur, the treatment differs from that of the Florentines and Paduans. In these a symmetrical arrangement of the whole, a measured distribution of the groups, predominates, while the Venetians from the very first betray a certain leaning to what is called *genre*, inasmuch as the whole composition is more scattered. The accessories, particularly the landscape, are of greater importance. Pictures in the ancient manner, representing a Madonna Enthroned surrounded by Saints, such as piety everywhere demanded, are more common. These saints are not however, as formerly, placed at equal distances and in tranquil attitudes—a contrast is always contrived. If one looks up to the Virgin, another reads in a book; if one kneels, another stands upright. The sky, which acts as a background, is generally kept light and clear, the more effectively to relieve the richly coloured figures. They also embellished their compositions with pleasing acces-

character is sometimes pathetic: the picture called the Three Ages, in the Gallery of Lord Francis Egerton, is a remarkable example. —ED.]

sories: bright sportive boy-angels, sometimes singing and playing on instruments, sometimes bearing festoons of flowers and fruit, gave a graceful variety to the seriousness of their religious representations. There were other favourite accessories, such as splendid thrones and tribunes, under which the saints are assembled; sometimes even the architectural forms of the frames are carried into the picture; sometimes the architecture of the church or chapel for which the painting was destined is imitated in perspective.

§ LI. It has been already remarked that the practice of oil-painting was a principal auxiliary in developing the characteristic qualities of the Venetians. About the middle of the fifteenth century Antonello da Messina repaired to the Netherlands to the school of Johann van Eyck, learned his secret in the preparation and use of oil-colours, and spread the knowledge of it afterwards among the Venetians*. The most important pictures of this artist, inscribed with his name, are in the Berlin Museum. One of them, dated 1445, a Portrait of a Young Man, is quite in the manner of Johann van Eyck. Two others, the Head of St. Sebastian (1478), and a Madonna and Child, have much more of the Italian type, with that softness and warmth in the flesh which at a later period were carried by the Venetian school to the highest perfection. A picture of the Crucifixion, also of the year 1445, is in the possession of M. Van Ertborn, at Utrecht: this work, like the first-named, has quite the

* Memorie istorico-critiche di Antonello degli Antonj pitt. Messinese: comp. dal Cav. T. Puccini; Firenze 1809. Translated under the title 'Notice historique sur Antonello de Messine, trad. de l'Italien, par L. de Baste. Gand, 1825.'

character of the Van Eyck school. In the Venetian Academy there is a female saint of the artist's later time.

§ LII. The head of the Venetian school of this time is Giovanni Bellini (1426–1516). His pictures are freer and nobler than those of the contemporary Vivarini; they are generally characterized by a mild seriousness: his Madonnas are graceful and interesting, his infant Christs and Angels beautiful and serene. The greater number of his works are in the galleries, and especially in the churches, of Venice. Among the best is an altar- 1
picture in the sacristy of the church de' Frari, dated 1488, and another in S. Zaccaria, of 1505. In both, the archi- 2
tectural framework is imitated in the picture itself; in the last, we already observe some *motives* belonging to that new style which characterizes Venetian Art in the sixteenth century. This is still more observable in a 3
picture dated 1513, in S. Giovanni Crisostomo. Other interesting works are in the churches of S. Giovanni e 4
Paolo, the Redentore (Sacristy), and in the Academy. In the Manfrini Gallery, among other specimens, there is an extremely pleasing picture of St. Jerome in his study.

Pictures of Bellini are not uncommon in other galleries; one of the largest and most important is a Corona- 5
tion of the Virgin, in the church of S. Francesco at Pesaro*. The pilasters of the frame and the predella are also adorned with charming little pictures. In the 6
Museum at Naples there is an excellent picture of the Transfiguration, with a peculiar landscape. The Berlin Gallery possesses a complete series of Bellini's works, in 7

* This picture was for sale in the year 1835.

which several, representing the Madonna and Child, are deserving of attention.

Gentile, the elder brother of Giovanni Bellini, is less important as an artist (1421–1501). Two large pictures in the Venetian Academy are among his best works;
8 the subjects are from Venetian history. One represents a Miracle, said to have occurred in one of the canals,
9 by means of a relic of the Holy Cross: in the other, the same relic is borne in solemn procession in St. Mark's Place. In these works of Gentile the heads display more softness than those of Giovanni, but much less character. The same may be said of a large picture with numerous figures in the Brera at Milan; the subject is St. Mark preaching at Alexandria.

10 Giovanni Bellini formed a great number of scholars, some of whom, as for instance Giorgione and Titian, must be reserved for a subsequent chapter. Here we shall only name the most prominent of those who, with more or less talent, adhered to the style of their master. They may be divided into two groups; one distinguished by a soft and graceful manner, the other severer and more sculpturesque. To the first class belong the following artists.

Pier Francesco Bissolo.—A beautiful picture in the
11 Venetian Academy representing Christ giving the crown of thorns to St. Catherine*, surrounded by Saints; an
12 Annunciation in the Manfrini Gallery; the Resurrec-
13 tion of Christ (an excellent picture), in the Berlin Museum—are examples of the gentleness and softness which distinguish the works of this master.

* [More properly exchanging the crown of thorns for a crown of gold. See Zanetti: Della Pittura Veneziana, lib. 1.—ED.]

Pier Maria Pennacchi.—A Madonna at the moment 14
of the Annunciation, in S. Francesco della Vigna at Ve-
nice, and another Madonna in the sacristy of Sta Maria 15
della Salute—are remarkable for a frank and noble
grace.

Andrea Cordelle Agi.—To this artist is ascribed a 16
Marriage of St. Catherine, in the Berlin Museum; the
expressions are sincere and interesting.

Martino da Udine.—An Annunciation, in the Vene- 17
tian Academy; St. Ursula surrounded by the attendant 18
Virgins, in the Brera at Milan:—two pictures of a
tranquil, noble beauty.

Girolamo di Santo Croce.—Known particularly by his
cabinet pictures, with pleasing small figures. His boy-
angels hovering in the air, or standing on clouds, with
light fluttering drapery, are very lovely. Several pic- 19
tures of this kind are in the Berlin Museum and in the 20
Manfrini gallery at Venice. At a later period this 21
artist followed the modern manner (of Titian), without
however particularly distinguishing himself in it. Among
the best pictures of this kind is a Madonna with Saints, 22
in the Venetian Academy. A Last Supper, in S. Fran- 23
cesco della Vigna, is a mediocre performance*.

The painters that follow belong to the second group
of Bellini's scholars.

* [There are some specimens of this painter's works in S. Francesco della Vigna, but of two pictures of the Last Supper, one, an early work, is in S. Geminiano, the other, his latest, dated 1548, is in S. Martino. The date of the last-mentioned renders it a curiosity, for it appears that the style of the early Venetian school was hardly extinct thirty-seven years after the death of Giorgione. —ED.]

Vincenzio Catena.—In this artist the influence of Bartolommeo Vivarini's style is perceptible. Several of his
24 pictures are in the Venetian Academy; two of these, representing St. Jerome and St. Augustine, merit attention. Catena afterwards followed the style of Giorgione.

Andrea Previtali.—His principal pictures are at Ber-
25 gamo, his native city. An altar-picture at S^to^ Spirito, representing St. John the Baptist, with other saints, is one of the most remarkable, but a placid noble charac-
26 ter is common to all these specimens. A Holy Family in the Manfrini gallery at Venice is simple and almost
27 severe in its grace. An excellent picture of three female Saints is in the Museum of Berlin.

Giambatista Cima da Conegliano.—One of the most prominent of Giovanni Bellini's followers. His male figures are characterized by a peculiar seriousness and dignity, by a grand tranquillity in gesture and movement. Among his pictures in the Berlin Museum is an
28 important altarpiece, a Madonna enthroned, and four
29 Saints. Another in the same gallery, St. Anianus of Alexandria healing a Shoe-maker's wounded hand, is distinguished by the life-like character of the heads.
30 The Academy of Venice contains two excellent pictures
31 by this artist. Several are also in the Brera at Milan; but in some of them the expression of power and severity degenerates into heaviness.

Numerous followers of Giovanni Bellini might be added, but we pass on to Marco Marcone of Como.—A picture by this artist, dated 1507, in the Berlin Museum, represents the Supper at Emmaus. It has

a close affinity to the general character of the school, but is distinguished by a very artless conception of life.

§ LIII. Beside Giovanni Bellini and his school, some painters must be mentioned, who, in following the general progress of Venetian Art, at the same time retained an independent individuality. Among them is Marco Basaiti, a master in whom a peculiar simple dignity and severity is united with a beautiful and powerful colouring. He appears to have been in close alliance with Bartolommeo Vivarini, for a large altar-picture in Sta Maria de' Frari at Venice was begun by Vivarini and 1 finished by Basaiti: it represents St. Ambrose seated, surrounded by several Saints, and in the upper portion, the Coronation of the Virgin,—a severe but beautiful and dignified work. A picture of Christ on the Mount 2 of Olives (dated 1510), in the Venetian Academy, is similar in style. Of less importance, though excellent in parts, is another picture in the same collection, also dated 1510. The subject is the Calling of Peter, a 3 composition of dramatic action, not perhaps within the scope of the artist's powers. Some smaller pictures 4 in the Academy are very excellent. In the Berlin 5 Museum there is also a beautiful altarpiece by this painter*.

Vittore Carpaccio, a more important artist, is, properly speaking, the historical painter of the elder Venetian school, but his conceptions incline to the *genre* or romantic style, to which we have already referred. In

* [One of Basaiti's best works is the Assumption of the Virgin, in S. Pietro Martire at Murano.—ED.]

these pictures he successfully introduces the daily life of the Venetians of his time in the greatest variety and richest development, and loves to fill up the background with landscape, architecture and accessories. In this respect he may be compared to the Florentine masters of the fifteenth century, but the freer style of composition, the cheerful light colouring, sufficiently point out the school to which he belongs. Many of his works are
6 in the Academy at Venice: eight large pictures, full of figures, representing the history of St. Ursula and her 11,000 Virgins, are particularly worthy of attention: they were formerly in the school of St. Ursula*. A
7 Presentation in the Temple (from the church of S.
8 Giobbe), and the Meeting of Joachim and Anna, with several Saints beside them (dated 1515), in the same collection, are also interesting specimens. The Brera
9 gallery at Milan possesses several works by Carpaccio.
10 In the Berlin Museum there is an excellent picture by him, representing the Consecration of St. Stephen and other Deacons.

The pictures of Giovanni Mansueti and Lazzaro Sebastiani, both scholars of Carpaccio, are in a similar style of composition, but in their less lively treatment may be ranked with the works of Gentile Bellini. In
11 the Academy at Venice are some of their pictures, which, like those of Gentile, relate to the miracle of the Holy Cross.

§ LIV. Some artists remain to be mentioned who flourished toward the end of the fifteenth century, and

* Engraved in a series, by Gio. de Pian e Franc. Calinberti.

who hold a middle place between the manner of Giovanni Bellini and that of Andrea Mantegna.

Bartolommeo Montagna of Vicenza may be mentioned first. His works in the Academy at Venice and 1
in the Berlin Museum are characterized by a certain seriousness in conception, but at the same time by an unpleasing dryness of manner.

Several Veronese painters belong to the same class:—Liberale, an artist, like the last, of no great importance. —An Adoration of the Kings, in the Duomo at Vero- 2
na, an altarpiece at S. Fermo, and some frescos in Sta 3
Anastasia, are among his best works. Liberale was also 4
a miniature-painter: a missal is preserved in the Libreria 5
of the Duomo at Siena *illuminated* by him with figures, which however are not very excellent.

Francesco Morone.—An excellent altar-picture by 6
him is in St. Anastasia at Verona—a Madonna between St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas, with the donors beneath; a beautiful fresco—a Madonna and four 7
Saints, in a house at Verona (No. 5522, beyond the Ponte delle Navi), may also be mentioned. There are several interesting pictures with Morone's name inscribed on them in the Museum at Berlin; the subjects are Ma- 8
donnas and Saints. They are simple and well painted, and have a character of mild seriousness.

Girolamo dai Libri (son of a book-painter, whence his name).—Several works of this excellent but elsewhere little known artist are to be met with in Verona. His earlier style inclines decidedly to the manner of Andrea Mantegna. An altar-picture in St. Anastasia, 9
a Madonna enthroned, with Saints and donors, contains,

for example, strong reminiscences of Mantegna's altar-
10 picture in S. Zeno. A Nativity, with St. Jerome and St. John the Baptist, likewise in the Palazzo del Consiglio, is severe in general treatment, but of a pleasing mild character, and already exhibits considerable softness in the painting. Some later pictures of Girolamo possess these qualities in a much greater degree, and
11 he approaches nearer to the Bellini school. The last-named gallery possesses several of these later pictures; one, of the year 1530, representing a Madonna enthroned, surrounded by various Saints, with Tobias and the Angel, is particularly deserving of attention.

CHAPTER III.

SCHOOLS OF UMBRIA, AND MASTERS OF A SIMILAR STYLE.

§ LV. It was quite natural that the efforts at direct imitation which characterized so many important schools, and which aimed at mere truth and beauty of external form, rather than at any spiritual depth of meaning, should call forth a decided manifestation of an opposite kind. This contrariety already existed in Florentine Art, in the first half of the fifteenth century, when Fra Giovanni da Fiesole—whom I have placed among the artists of the preceding period, but who flourished at this time—appeared as a marked exception to the general

tendency of the Florentine artists. It took place to a still greater extent in the latter part of this century in the schools of Umbria.

The external habits and circumstances of life in this retired valley of the upper Tiber tended to give a spiritual direction to Art. This region had distinguished itself in the middle ages above all Italy, as the peculiar seat of religious enthusiam. Here were found the most miraculous pictures; here were born and nurtured enthusiasts like St. Francis; and Assisi, with its Basilica, founded by this saint, naturally calculated as it was to foster such feelings, was the centre round which the other townships ranged themselves as tributaries. Art followed the current of life here, as it did in the commercial cities of Florence and Venice, as it did in Padua, where the study of classic lore predominated. Purity of soul, fervent unearthly longings, and an abandonment of the whole being to a pleasing-sad, enthusiastic tenderness—these are the prevailing characteristics of the school to which we now turn our attention*.

§ LVI. In considering the peculiar development of the Umbrian school, some stress must be laid on the influence which, as we have already seen, was derived from the similarly inspired school of Siena through Taddeo di Bartolo. We have remarked that at Assisi different works or remains of works are preserved, which show a decided affinity to the style and manner of this artist. The frescos in Sta Catherina are of the number; the l

* A full account of the school of Umbria will be found in Passavant's Rafael von Urbino, i. 477, etc.

exterior of this small church was embellished by Martinellus in 1422, the interior by Matteo de Gualdo and Pietro Antonio di Fuligno; the remains of the paintings of Martinellus, though unimportant as works of art, are decidedly Sienese in character; those of Pietro Antonio, on the side walls of the church, are more interesting, and have a beautiful mildness of expression*.

Niccolo da Fuligno, commonly called Niccolo Alunno, whose works belong to the second half of this century, is an artist of more importance. He surpasses his predecessors not only in force and clearness of colouring, but particularly in seriousness, and in the dignity and
2 fidelity with which he treats his subjects. In the Duomo at Assisi he painted a Pietà, with two Angels, who, as Vasari says weep so naturally that a better artist could hardly have been more successful. There exist only some small remains of this picture, let into the framework of a modern altar. Several of Niccolo's paint-
3 ings are at Fuligno in the church of the Augustines,
4 S. Niccolo. A beautiful unaffected picture of his earlier time (1465), is in the Brera at Milan: one of his
5 latest is in the choir of the parish-church of La Bastia, a small place near Assisi, on the way to Perugia—an altar-work, consisting of several pictures joined together; the date is 1499.

* Compare Rumohr: Ital. Forsch. ii. 312, etc.; where, however, the little church is not called by the name it generally bears in Assisi. In other buildings in the same place we find paintings in the style of the Sienese, particularly of Taddeo di Bartolo; in the Confraternità of St. Francis, for example, where, in a niche on the outside, St. Francis's Miracle of the Roses, and other paintings, are represented in a uniform green colour.

A remarkable picture of a similar character is at Perugia, in Sta Maria Nuova. The subject is an Annuncia- 6
tion, dated 1466, with a representation of God the Father in a Glory, in the upper portion; it is a wonderfully beautiful work, severe and solemn, almost in the manner of the earlier Sienese, but full of the highest grace. Nothing can be more beautiful than the head of the Madonna and especially that of the Angel*.

In the same district lived Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, a contemporary of Niccolo Alunno, whose fervent feeling he indeed never reached, but whom he excelled in picturesque arrangement, and in propriety of attitude and mien, as well as in certain delicacies in the treatment of the forms. His pictures are very rare. In the 7
sacristy of S. Francesco de' Conventuali, at Perugia, are two pictures of St. Peter and St. Paul, inscribed with the name of the artist and the year 1487, also the upper portion of a large semicircular picture, representing a Madonna and Child, and two adoring Angels.

A third artist of this time, Benedetto Bonfigli of Perugia, leans to another style, for, in the peculiar treatment of his works, he appears nearly allied to the manner of Gentile da Fabriano. This is particularly the case in his best work, an Adoration of the Kings, in S. 8
Domenico at Perugia. In others he appears more original, but at the same time more feeble. A Pietà 9
in S. Pietro may be quoted as an instance, with two pictures of Angels holding the instruments of the Pas- 10

* Rumohr (Ital. Forsch. ii. 317) appears to ascribe this picture to Niccolo Alunno; but to me his works do not appear so good as this, and, I think, betray a somewhat different style.

sion, introduced into the lower part of the picture of the Madonna by Fiorenzo, in S. Francesco, at Perugia; they are, however, but fragments of larger pictures; the
11 pieces cut from them are in the Academy of Perugia.

§ LVII. The qualities which we have thus traced in their progress among these different masters, were carried to the utmost perfection by an artist somewhat later in date, Pietro Vanucci della Pieve ("de castro plebis," so called from his birth-place, Castello della Pieve), or most commonly, Pietro Perugino, from the place in which he afterwards established himself (1446–1524)*. The accounts of his education in Art are very obscure. It is uncertain which of the artists last named was his teacher. When about twenty-five years of age he went to Florence, where he appears to have been intimate with Andrea Verocchio; he remained a long time there and in other parts of Italy, particularly in Rome, and toward the end of the fifteenth century established himself finally in Perugia, where he opened a large studio and school.

1 This frequent change of residence may account for the changes of style observable in his works. Many small pictures of his earlier time exist, particularly in Florence, painted before he had experienced the influence of the Florentine school. They display some characteristic peculiarities, but belong decidedly to the
2 older style. A picture of this kind is in the Museum

* Orsini: Vita, elogio e memorie dell' egregio pittore Pietro Perugino e degli scolari di esso; Perugia, 1804.

of Berlin, a Madonna with two adoring Angels. During his stay in Florence, between 1475 and 1489, he appears at one time to have rather inclined to the then prevalent taste for direct imitation. There is a proof of this in an 3 Adoration of the Kings in Sta Maria Nuova at Perugia, with the portrait of the artist, who appears about thirty years of age; the Kings and their followers are represented standing together, in the beautiful Florentine manner, quiet and characteristic. But among Perugino's 4 works of this period, we must particularly notice the frescos which he executed in the Sistine chapel at Rome, about the year 1480; he was the only artist employed not a Florentine. Some of these works were afterwards destroyed to make room for Michael Angelo's "Last Judgement;" but those still remaining—the Baptism of Christ, and the Delivering the Keys to Peter—are decidedly in the Florentine manner; this is apparent in the composition, in the arrangement of the numerous groups of spectators, and in the drapery.

After Perugino had thus passed through the schools, 5 he returned to his own first manner. If his early works indicate the prevailing tone of his mind and feelings, and if the effect of study appear to predominate in those which follow, the period in which he returned to his natural taste, embodying it with that force and clearness which his previous study had taught, is necessarily the greatest and most interesting epoch of the artist's life. It was at this time he acquired that grace and softness, that tender enthusiastic earnestness, which give so great a charm to his pictures; and if they sometimes leave much to be wished for in force and variety of cha-

racter, the heads, especially the youthful and ardently expressive ones, are of surpassing beauty; in the colouring, again, both of the flesh and drapery, in the warm, bright skies, and in the well-managed gradations of his landscapes, he had great and varied merit.

6 A picture of his best time, with the date 1491, is in the Palazzo Albani at Rome. It represents the Infant Christ, adored by the Virgin, some Angels and Saints: it is remarkable for grace of attitude, delicacy of feature and purity of expression. His best works are:—at
7 Florence, a fresco in the cloisters of Sta Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, representing the Crucifixion, with Saints
8 standing around. A Deposition, dated 1495, in the Pitti palace, formerly in Sta Chiara, a picture with many figures, grand and simple in composition. The sketches for it on three separate leaves, are in the gallery of the
9 Uffizj. Several pictures are in the Academy; one of these, representing Christ on the Mount of Olives, merits attention; others of a later period are of less interest. Perugino's principal works at Perugia are the
10 frescos in the Collegio del Cambio, dated 1500. He has represented on the walls of the principal hall, beside some Biblical scenes, a series of Sibyls, Prophets and personages from the Old Testament, with various statesmen and heroes of antiquity, and above them the allegorical figures of different virtues. The vaulted roof of the hall is decorated with charming arabesques; in the centre is Apollo, and around him are the presiding deities of the seven planets. The artist's portrait is introduced on one of the bands which separate the pictures. This is a very copious work, and some parts

are executed with great dignity and beauty, although the assistance of his scholars may be frequently detected. A fresco in an inner chapel in the convent of S. Fran- 11
cesco del Monte, at Perugia, not less excellent, is considerably injured: it represents (in a semicircle) the Birth of Christ; the infant lies on the ground in the centre, behind him kneel two shepherds, etc., at his side are the Virgin and Joseph. The child is in this instance remarkable for its sweetness and tenderness of expression, and the Madonna is very dignified and beautiful. The arrangement of this picture, with some modifications, has been frequently repeated, both by the master himself and his scholars, and is characteristic of the whole school. Among the best of Perugino's pictures, 12
must be reckoned a very beautiful Madonna enthroned on the clouds, with four Saints underneath, in the Gallery of Bologna.

Soon after Perugino had established himself in Perugia, he gave himself up, like many painters of the time, to a mere mechanical dexterity, and worked principally for gain. He erected a large studio, in which several scholars were employed to execute commissions from his designs. In his later works, therefore, of which there are many in the churches of Perugia and in foreign galleries, the greatest uniformity of design prevails, with considerable inequality of execution, according as more or less talented scholars were employed. The last works executed by Perugino's own hand are strikingly weak: the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, of the year 1518, in S. Francesco de' Conventuali, at Perugia, may be mentioned as an example. The greatest of

Perugino's scholars is Raphael Sanzio, of whom we shall speak in a subsequent chapter.

§ LVIII. Among other artists of note formed in Perugino's school, two have been always mentioned on Vasari's authority, namely, Pinturicchio and Ingegno; they may, however, be considered rather as assistants, and probably, like Perugino himself, were formed in the schools of the masters before named.

The first, Bernardino Pinturicchio, lived from 1454 to 1513. Of his earlier works little is known. One of
1 his best pictures, dated 1495, is in the Academy of Perugia (it was formerly in the church of Sta Anna). This work, formed of several pictures joined together, displays, perhaps more than any other of the Umbrian school, the peculiar deep and pure feeling of Niccolo Alunno, united with a better knowledge of form and a more beautiful manner; in the heads especially, the character and expression are conceived and rendered with the deepest feeling. Several frescos, by Pintu-
2 ricchio at Rome, are equally good, particularly a Madonna and Child in a chapel of the Palazzo de' Conservatori in the Capitol: she sits enthroned, fronting the spectator; her large mantle forms a grand cast of drapery; the child, on her lap, sleeps in the loveliest attitude; she folds her hands and looks down, quiet, serious, and beautiful: in the clouds are two adoring
3 angels. His paintings on the semi-dome of the tribune of
4 St. Onofrio, and those in Sta Maria Araceli, are also ex-
5 cellent. Others, such as his scriptural and allegorical frescos in the Vatican (in three rooms of the Appartamento Borgia), are less important. Pinturicchio adorned

the walls of the Libreria in the Duomo of Siena with a series of historical representations from the life of Pius II*. (Æneas Sylvius), in which, however, he appears more as a clever executor, as it were by contract, than as an independent creative artist. In the composition of these subjects he was assisted by the young Raphael, some of whose drawings, still in existence, are much more beautiful, more full of mind, than the large pictures executed from them. In these, however, there is much grace in single figures, and among their general merits it may be observed that the pictorial decoration, especially as regards the dimensions of the figures, is very happily adapted to the architecture of the room. 6

The paintings of a chapel in the Duomo at Spello, of the year 1501, are also among the better specimens of Pinturicchio, although even in these the mechanical manner into which, like Perugino, he afterwards degenerated, and in which he totally lost himself, is already perceptible. The altar-picture of S. Andrea at Spello, of the date 1508, is an example of this degeneracy. 7 8

Andrea Luigi, surnamed L'Ingegno, appears, like Pinturicchio, to have been a scholar of Niccolo Alunno; he was an established painter and master so early as 1484. Very little is known respecting this artist. More powerful shadows, greater fulness and solidity of form have been remarked as peculiarities which distinguish him from the other Umbrian masters. He appears to have renounced painting early, and to have devoted himself exclusively to civil affairs. That he competed 9

* Engraved in the Raccolta delle più celebri pitture esistenti nella città di Siena; Firenze, 1825.

with Raphael and early became blind, is a story which does not well agree with our more certain accounts of him*.

Next to Raphael, the most distinguished of Perugino's undoubted scholars, is the Spaniard, Giovanni, called Lo Spagno, who afterwards settled in Spoleto. A picture by him, dated 1516, representing a Madonna enthroned and three Saints on each side, is in the chapel of S. Stefano, in S. Francesco at Assisi. They are grand, severe figures, but full of genuine feeling and purity, and remarkable for grace and nobleness. That which is so attractive in the early pictures of Raphael is here followed out in the happiest manner. In the Stanza di S. Francesco in the choir of the church Degli Angeli at Assisi, he painted a series of the companions of the Saint, in fresco; these again are beautiful and dignified figures. His painting in the Palazzo del Consiglio at Spoleto is less important.

Almost all the rest of Perugino's scholars imitated his manner, without however rivalling either his depth or power of colouring. Among these may be mentioned Giannicola: an altar-picture by him, consisting of a clever series of figures, is in the Academy at Perugia; another is in S. Tommaso at the same place. The names of Tiberio d'Assisi and Girolamo Genga may

* Rumohr: Ital. Forsch. ii. 324. [Passavant, who has given an account of Ingegno and Pinturicchio, together with the other masters of the school of Umbria, ascribes the Madonna and Child, in the chapel of the Conservatori of the Capitol, above-mentioned, to Ingegno. Other works at Assisi, Urbino and Orvieto, are attributed by this writer to the same painter. See Passavant: Rafael von Urbino, i. 501, 503.—ED.]

be added to the last. Adoni Doni at first followed the same general style, but afterwards adopted that of the Roman school formed by Raphael. A grace- 15
ful Adoration of the Kings in his first manner is in S. Pietro at Perugia *. Domenico di Paris, Alfani and his son Orazio, are of the same class. A graceful 16
and finished Holy Family by one or the other is in the tribune of the Uffizj at Florence.

Lastly, we find among Perugino's scholars the Florentines Francesco Ubertini, surnamed Il Bacchiacca, who usually painted small pictures filled with figures, and Rocco Zoppo, whose peculiar hardness reminds us of his relation Marco Zoppo, with whom he was perhaps professionally associated. An Adoration of the Kings, inscribed with his name, is in the Berlin Museum.

§ LIX. Some contemporaries of Perugino in the neighbouring states followed a similar general style, and may be connected with the Umbrian school. One of the 1
most important was Giovanni Sanzio of Urbino, the father of Raphael†. His style is simple and serious; a quiet gentleness characterizes his heads. He wants the depth of the Umbrian masters, properly so called, and his colouring is of a peculiar light leaden tone, quite deficient in warmth. One of his principal pictures is 2
in S. Francesco at Urbino; he has represented himself,

* [Adoni Doni painted some Sibyls in S. Francesco, at Assisi, late in the sixteenth century. It has been sometimes erroneously asserted that Raphael imitated them, but they were done long after the great artist's death.—Ed.]

† Pungileone: Elogio storico di Giovanni Santi, pittore e poeta; Urbino, 1822.

his wife, and his little son Raphael, kneeling at the foot
3 of the Madonna's throne *. Another, the Annunciation,
4 is in the Brera at Milan, and an excellent altar-picture
is in the Museum at Berlin. Marco Palmezzano of
5 Forlì is much severer in style; there are several clever
6 pictures by him in the Berlin Museum; there is also a
specimen in the Brera at Milan.

§ LX. But an artist more important than either of these, and equal in rank with Perugino, is Francesco Raibolini of Bologna, commonly called Francesco Francia. A strong affinity exists between them, but in Francia the enthusiastic sentimentality of Perugino is moderated; a freer and more engaging openness appears in its stead, without any deficiency of deep and fervent feeling. Of Francia's education in art nothing circumstantial is known. Originally a goldsmith, and celebrated for the execution of dies for coins and medals, it is said that he turned his attention to painting at an advanced age, from pure love of the art. A strong inducement to this step may perhaps be found in the circumstance that Giovanni Bentivoglio, who at this time exercised an almost princely authority in Bologna, wished to adorn his palace in a princely manner, and for this purpose invited several painters from the neighbouring
1 states; of these, Francesco Cossa and Lorenzo Costa have been already mentioned. Francia's efforts in painting are said to have first excited observation in a picture

* [This picture represents other persons and not Sanzio's family. See Passavant: Rafael von Urbino, i. 29. The same writer has given a very complete list of Giovanni Sanzio's works.—Ed.]

executed in 1490, at the instance of the Felicini family, for Sta Maria della Misericordia; after which Giovanni Bentivoglio commissioned him to paint the altar-piece for his chapel in S. Giacomo Maggiore. The first (now in the Gallery at Bologna) represents a Madonna enthroned and the Saints Augustine, Francis, Proclus and Monica, John the Baptist and Sebastian. It is a very satisfactory work of art, especially in its warmth of colouring and depth of expression. The St. Sebastian is here represented as a beautiful youth, looking upwards with an ingenuous, enthusiastic air *. The altar-picture of the Bentivoglio chapel, a Madonna 2 enthroned, with four Saints and four Angels, is not less excellent. That the masterly picture of the Misericordia, which perhaps is not equalled by any of the later easel-pictures of Francia, can be the earliest work of any painter, is not at all probable. In accordance with the customary progress of artists we should expect to find in all early works some evidences of experiment, some indications of the steps which have led to the development of a particular style. It has been supposed that the progress of Francia may have been assisted by the study of the works of Perugino †, and this appears to be borne out by the general similarity of their style.

* It is to be remarked that this picture is inscribed with the name of the master and the year MCCCCLXXXIIII., thus contradicting the above date, which is given on the authority of Vasari, but the last cyphers (IIII.) are more faint, and consequently have either faded or have been more lately added. [The above description of the expression of St. Sebastian is quite applicable to the figure of the same saint in the fine specimen of Francia in the National Gallery.—ED.]

† See Quandt: Translation of Lanzi, iii. p. 18, note.

The progressive steps may, we think, be traced in some paintings which we have ventured to ascribe to Francia: these are the frescos in the lunettes of the Bentivoglio chapel. The execution and expression in
3 those near the windows, and on the opposite walls, in parts which have not been retouched, are decidedly in Francia's own manner, but the drapery is still essentially Perugino's*. This imitation disappears, however, entirely in the lunettes over the altar, where, always excepting the subsequent restorations, the manner of Francia appears completely formed. On the other hand Francia's pictures, in their more cheerful open character, as compared with Perugino's, appear to have some affinity with the
4 Venetian school. This is observable in a beautiful Holy Family, in the Berlin Museum, painted for Bartolommeo Bianchini, which in many respects resembles the pictures of Giovanni Bellini.

5 The best of Francia's works are in the frescos in Sta Cecilia at Bologna, a small church near S. Giacomo, which now unhappily serves as a public passage, where these already dust-covered and injured paintings are hastening to destruction. They are scenes from the life of St. Cecilia, partly executed by Francia himself, partly by his scholars from his designs. The composition in these pieces is extremely simple, without any superfluous accessory figures: the particular moments

* Malvasia (Felsina pittrice, Lor. Costa) ascribes these pictures, together with those on the walls underneath, to Lorenzo Costa. But, not only are the upper ones painted in fresco, whilst the under are in oil on canvass (which would be singular if the work of one master), but the style and whole character of the two series differ essentially.

of action are conceived and developed in an excellent dramatic style. We have here the most noble figures, the most beautiful and graceful heads, an intelligible arrangement and pure taste in the drapery, and masterly landscape backgrounds. The most remarkable of these paintings is the Marriage of St. Cecilia, which, as well as the opposite one—her Interment—is entirely the work of Francia himself. In the others the assistance of his scholars is perceptible; in some, coarse retouchings of a later period are apparent.

The Gallery at Bologna contains, beside the picture above mentioned, a series of very excellent works by 6
Francia. His paintings are not uncommon in foreign galleries. One of the most beautiful is in Munich— 7
Christ, as a child, lying on roses; his mother sinks on her knees before him, her hands crossed upon her breast. The portrait of Vangelista Scappi, in the Uffizj 8
at Florence, well deserves attention.

Francia afterwards entered into a friendly correspondence with Raphael. At a later period he borrowed largely from the style of modern painters, particularly Raphael; he died in 1533*.

* [The time and the occasion of Francia's death have been much disputed. Vasari says it was owing to the surprise and mortification he felt on seeing Raphael's St. Cecilia on its arrival in Bologna. This was apparently disproved by the dates on pictures supposed to be painted by Francia some years afterwards. The pictures must have been by his son, for, according to indisputable documents, Francia died January 6th, 1517. Thus, if the St. Cecilia reached Bologna toward the close of 1516, which is very probable, Vasari's story may be correct after all. See the notes in the last Florence edition of Vasari (1838), and those in Schorn's translation, now in progress. —Ed.]

Francia's Madonnas were frequently imitated by his scholars, and not all that are ascribed to him in collections were really the work of his own hand. Among his best scholars, his cousin and son, Giulio and Giacomo Francia, may be mentioned; they continued to practise the manner of their master, but never equalled its
9 beauty and dignity, nor its depth of expression. There are numerous pictures by them in the Berlin Museum, the Gallery at Bologna, and other places. Amico Aspertini, another artist from the school of Francia, was a capricious and fantastical painter; he united the manner of his master with that of the school of Ferrara.
10 Two of his works are in the Berlin Museum. His brother Guido Aspertini resembles him, but is less wild.
11 An Adoration of the Kings, by him, in the Gallery at Bologna, is an agreeable picture, though somewhat fantastical.

The most important of Francia's scholars is Lorenzo Costa of Ferrara, already mentioned (§ XLVII. 7, 8). His early works bear the stamp of the Paduan school. In his later ones, on the contrary, executed in the first years of the sixteenth century, we observe the decided influence of Francia; the influence, for example, of the frescos in Sta Cecilia, in which Costa assisted: he frequently designates himself as Francia's scholar in pictures of this period. The imitation of other styles appears to have co-operated in his development; this may be accounted for by an early residence in Florence.
12 Among the best of Costa's works is an altar-picture, of 1502, in the Gallery at Bologna—St. Petronius en-
13 throned, and two other Saints—a picture of simple

dignity and beauty. Another is in S. Petronio, at Bo- 13
logna. Several are at Berlin; of these a Presentation 14
in the Temple, with Saints, a Sibyl and a Prophet, dated 1502, and an Entombment, 1504—a composition 15
of unaffected and harmonious repose, with figures distinguished by a bland dignity of character—may be particularly mentioned. At Mantua, where Costa resided during his latter years, there is an excellent altarpiece by him—a Madonna and several Saints, in the church 16
of S. Andrea. The other scholars of Francia belong to a succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

SCHOOL OF NAPLES*.

§ LXI. Before we dismiss the history of Art of the fifteenth century, we have to turn our attention to the school of Naples, in which many different influences are apparent. In this school there was no deficiency of important artists in the fourteenth century. A Maestro Simone and his scholars Stefanone and Francesco di Maestro Simone (son of the first-named), are mentioned with honour by the historians of Art, and their merit is confirmed by works still preserved. There is an excellent fresco by Francesco in Sta Chiara, on the 1
left of the principal entrance—a Madonna enthroned, and, underneath, a picture of the Trinity.

* See the Author's Essay: "Von den älteren Malern Neapels," in the Museum, 1835; Nos. 43–49.

The school of Naples became more important in the fifteenth century. First in order is Colantonio del Fiore, who appears to have given a new direction to Art. He died in 1444. No judgement can be formed of the greater part of his works, in their present injured state;
2 the lunette over the principal door of the little church of S. Angelo a Nilo may serve as an example. But the most important picture ascribed to him is well pre-
3 served: it represents St. Jerome in his study, drawing a thorn from the foot of his faithful lion: this specimen is in the Museo Borbonico, and was originally in the sacristy of S. Lorenzo. It is a very beautiful picture, wonderfully true to nature, not only in the figure of the saint, but in the implements for writing, the library, etc. In the details it reminds us not a little of the works of Johann van Eyck; indeed it has been ascribed to him*, but this opinion, on the whole, appears improbable. We shall again recognize the influence of the schools of northern Art among the succeeding Neapolitan masters.

Antonio Solario, the follower and son-in-law of Colantonio, surnamed Zingaro, from his early calling, is said to have been a smith (*Zingaro, gipsy*), and to have learned the Art out of love to Colantonio's daughter. His date is placed between the years 1382 and 1455, but this is not in accordance with the works ascribed to him; they appear to belong rather to the second half of the
4 century. Several pleasing pictures by him are in the gallery of the Museo Borbonico. In character they may be said to hold a middle place between the school of Umbria

* Hirt. in the Museum, 1833; No. 21.

and the German school of Alsatia. The best of them is a Madonna and Child between St. Jerome and St. Francis; it is a picture of peculiar sweetness and gentleness. Next to this may be mentioned a picture in S. Lorenzo Mag- 5
giore at Naples, which represents St. Francis giving the rules of his Order to several Monks; it has a grand and animated truth of character. The frescos in the court of the monastery of S. Severino, still 6
more important, are also ascribed to Zingaro. They consist of twenty large pictures from the history of St. Benedict, simple and very clever compositions, with beautiful expression in the heads, very delicate modelling, and good colouring. They are particularly distinguished by the masterly landscape backgrounds, a very rare accompaniment to Italian frescos, and not to be found in such perfection elsewhere at this early period. These paintings unhappily have suffered much, and in modern times have been barbarously retouched.

Among Zingaro's scholars two brothers, Pietro and Ippolito Donzelli, are especially distinguished. Excel- 7
lent pictures by both, approaching tolerably near to the manner of their master, are to be met with in the churches of Naples and in the Museum. Sometimes they appear to resemble Perugino, sometimes the Venetians, but always with the before-mentioned affinity to the Germans. Pietro is the best artist: among his first 8
works are two pictures of female Saints (placed on either side of a less agreeable figure of St. Francis), in Sta Maria la Nuova, and a Madonna with Angels, in the 9
Museum.

Simon Papa, the elder, is said to have been a scholar

of Zingaro; his works, however, show a decided in-
10 fluence of the Flemish school of Van Eyck. Several of his pictures are in the Museo Borbonico: the best represents the Archangel Michael with other Saints, and the donors. The figure of the archangel is a direct imitation of the Michael in the celebrated Dantzig picture of the Last Judgement; the character of the landscape is also Flemish. For the rest, Simone is not an artist of much importance.

The most attractive of the Neapolitan artists who flourished toward the close of the fifteenth century is Silvestro de' Buoni, formed in the schools of Zingaro
11 and Donzelli. His best work is in the old basilica of Sta Restituta, now united with the Duomo of Naples: it represents the Virgin with the Archangel Michael and Sta Restituta. This very distinguished work has a striking affinity in some respects with the Umbrian school, and in others resembles not less the animated cheerful manner of the Venetians of this time. The figures are beautiful and dignified, but without constraint or Peruginesque mannerism; a beautiful warm tone pervades the whole. Similar works of Silvestro are in other
12 churches (for example, an Ascension of Christ in that of
13 Monte Oliveto) and in the Museum of Naples.

Antonio d'Amato il Vecchio is said to have been a scholar of Silvestro, and to have formed his style afterwards on the works of Perugino, whose manner he in fact
14 approaches very nearly. In S. Severino there is a beautiful picture by him, representing several Angels.

BOOK V.

PERIOD OF HIGHEST DEVELOPMENT AND DECLINE.

MASTERS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

INTRODUCTION.

§ LXII. All the elements which had existed apart from each other and had composed distinct styles in the periods hitherto considered, all the qualities which had been successively developed, each to the exclusion of the rest, but which in the aggregate fulfilled the conditions of a consummate practice of Art, were united about the beginning of the sixteenth century. This union constituted a most rare and exalted state of human culture—an æra when the diviner energies of human nature were manifested in all their purity. In the masterworks of this new period we find the most elevated subjects, represented in the noblest *form*, with a depth of feeling never since equalled. It was only for a short period that Art maintained this high degree of perfection—scarcely more than one quarter of a century! But the great works then produced are eternal, imperishable. They bear, indeed, the stamp of their own age, but are created for all ages; and as they were the pride and admiration of the time when they were produced, so they will awaken the enthusiasm of the latest posterity. For the truly beautiful depends not on external or local circumstances; the Madonna del Sisto of Ra-

phael, the Heroes of Phidias, Leonardo's Last Supper, and Scopas's group of the Niobe and her Children, belong not exclusively to catholic Italy, nor to heathen Greece. In all places, in all times, their power must be felt, and must produce its impression on the heart of the spectator.

At the first glance it seems surprising that in this most flourishing period of modern Art there should appear no single supreme representative, as a prominent centre, to which all the others tend like the radii of a circle; no highest consummation which can be considered as the term—the keystone, as it were, of this wondrous building. On the contrary, many individuals, many works of Art of various kinds, all equally estimable, are presented to our view. Even artists not especially gifted, have, in this favoured time, produced some works of high perfection; and although criticism may here and there detect external deficiencies, the same spirit of divine beauty breathes from them all; they still afford a higher gratification to the mind than the works of any other period, either earlier or later. But such is the essence of beauty, it is confined to no fixed canon, it pervades life in its whole extent, and may still be conceived freely, and represented in a freely created form, by the gifted artist, according to his individual feeling. Its principle is that of the sunbeam, which though broken into various colours by the prism, is, in each portion, equally saturated with light.

Thus, in the period we now approach, we shall find several prominent groups, each of which, in cultivating peculiar qualities, produced the grandest works. We

shall become acquainted with the individual masters who form the centres of these groups, and whose characteristics have been impressed more or less forcibly on their scholars and imitators. The great masters of Florence occupy our attention first.

CHAPTER I.

LEONARDO DA VINCI AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

§ LXIII. At the head of this new period stands Leo- 1
nardo da Vinci *. His works are the first which afford complete satisfaction to the eye and mind, for although contemporary with many of the artists already mentioned, he was not, like them, confined to one direction. Leonardo was born in the year 1452, at Vinci, a castellated village in the Val d'Arno; he died in France, in 1519. Distinguished alike by gifts of body and mind, he appears to have possessed an unparalleled versatility, united with indefatigable zeal in extending his inquiries

* C. Amoretti, Memorie Storiche su la vita, gli studj e le opere di Lionardo da Vinci; Milano, 1804.—L. da Vinci, by Hugo Count Gallenberg; Leipzig, 1834.—A mediocre translation of the last with some extracts from German authors.—Brown: The Life of L. da Vinci; London, 1828.—Outlines in Landon.—Vies et Œuvres, etc. t. L. da V. The engravings by Fumagalli,—Scuola di Lionardo da Vinci in Lombardia; Milano, 1811:—are very important for Leonardo and his school.

and enlarging the sphere of his attainments. He was handsome, well-formed, and endowed with surprising bodily strength: he was master of all the knightly exercises of riding, dancing and fencing: as an architect he constructed several edifices, particularly in Milan, and left designs for others. He was a sculptor, painter, musician and poet: he applied himself zealously to all the sciences necessary to the improvement of Art, particularly anatomy (both of men and horses), mathematics, perspective, mechanics, etc.: he has also left several works on physics. Descriptions of playful mechanical contrivances have been preserved, with which he amused himself and others: he invented all kinds of machines for swimming, diving and flying; a compass, an hygrometer, etc., etc. Some of his schemes were grander and more important; for example, that of cutting a canal to unite Florence with Pisa: the actual completion of similar works occupied much of his time elsewhere. Another plan—bold, but for him not impossible, was to raise the ancient baptistery or church of S. Giovanni at Florence, from the ground, by a substructure, to do away with the somewhat sunken appearance, which has so unpleasing an effect in this otherwise beautiful building. Finally, we must not omit his exertions and numerous inventions in military architecture.

But the centre of all the various powers of this great man was his prevailing love for the plastic arts—for painting especially, to which he dedicated the greatest and best part of his active life. His anatomical studies have been already mentioned. The

same zeal which he applied to the study of mere form was extended to all its manifestations of life. None could be more eager, more quick, in observing and seizing the expressions of the passions, as they are displayed in countenance and gesture. He visited all the most frequented places, the scenes where the active powers of man are most fully developed, and he drew in a sketch-book, which he always carried with him, whatever interested him. He followed criminals to execution, in order to witness the pangs of the deepest despair; he invited peasants to his house, and related laughable stories to them, that he might learn from their physiognomies the essence of comic expression. Inanimate nature he studied with the same earnestness. Of his various writings on Art, the "Trattato della Pittura" has descended to our times, and still forms a very useful compendium.

If this disposition to careful study shows the sure foundation on which the style of Leonardo is based, if a just conception and characteristic representation of what was before him, are to be considered as the elements of his practice, he displays on the other hand a profound *subjective* feeling, a refined, enthusiastic sentimentality, which in some sort may be compared with the characteristics of the Umbrian school. In some of his works one or other of these two tendencies predominates; in his principal ones, on the other hand, both seem to balance each other in the purest harmony, elevated to so high a degree of perfection by this union of the power of thought with the feeling for beauty of form, that Leonardo is justly entitled to take one of

the first places among the masters of modern Art. He who investigated common life even to its minutest modifications and details, could also represent the holy and divine with a dignity, calmness and beauty, of which the greatest genius only is capable.

2 Leonardo was the natural son of a certain Pietro, a notary of the Signoria of Florence, by whom he was placed in the school of Andrea Verocchio. From this master he must have derived his inclination for the
3 double study of sculpture and painting. The Baptism of Christ, in which an angel done by the scholar is said to have deterred the master from the practice of painting, has been already mentioned (§ XLIV. 7). Little is known of other early works of Leonardo. It is related that he once painted a fabulous monster, and made studies for it from toads, serpents, lizards, bats, etc., of which he had a whole menagerie; his own father drew back in fear from the horrible picture, but afterwards
4 sold it at a high price. He also painted a head of Medusa, lying on the earth amidst all sorts of reptiles: it is supposed to be the same now in the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence; it seems, however, more probable that this is a later but very excellent copy of the original *. This picture, which is deficient in marking as compared with Leonardo's usual style, is still very masterly in many respects; the faded, sallow colour, the dark vapour issuing from the mouth, the convulsion of death in the glassy, fixed, expiring eyes, are all powerfully expressed.
5 Two cartoons of his early time were particularly famous: one represented Neptune, in a stormy sea, surrounded

* Rumohr: Ital. Forsch. ii. 307.

by nymphs and tritons; the other, the Fall of Man, in a beautiful and elaborate landscape to represent Paradise: neither of these exist. It is difficult to decide with regard to other early productions ascribed to Leonardo da Vinci; a critical investigation of his works has as yet been only partially undertaken; by far the greater part of those which bear his name in galleries are later imitations or the work of his scholars.

In the year 1482 Leonardo was invited to the court 6
of Lodovico Sforza il Moro, then regent, afterwards Duke, of Milan. This prince, although an usurper, showed the greatest zeal in cherishing learning and Art: in this course he followed alike his own inclination and the example of other Italian sovereigns. Learned men, poets and artists were invited to his court, and Leonardo, according to Vasari, recommended himself at first as a musician and improvisatore. The foundation of an academy of Art, the earliest establishment of the kind, was soon entrusted to him: his works on Art* appear to have been composed for it; and the numerous scholars whom he formed in Milan bear testimony to his great efficiency in this institution.

Of the various undertakings conducted by Leonardo 7
for Lodovico Sforza, we shall turn our attention to those only which have reference to the formative arts. Two are especially remarkable; they employed him during the greater part of his stay in Milan (till

* Trattato della pittura. A great number of editions. The first appeared in Paris, 1651, with a life of Leonardo, by Raphael Dufresne. The best is that of Rome, 1817; Gugl. Manzi. There are several French and German translations.

1499). One was an equestrian statue, intended to have been cast in bronze, of colossal dimensions, in memory of Francesco Sforza, father of Lodovico. Leonardo had made the profoundest anatomical studies for the horse. When the first model of the monument was finished, it was carried in a festal procession, as the most splendid part of the pomp, and was unfortunately broken. With unwearied patience Leonardo began a new one, but from the want of means—a want which pressed upon Lodovico in the latter years of his government—it was never cast; and when Milan was conquered by the French, in 1499, the model was made to serve as a target by the Gascon crossbowmen.

8 His second great work was the Last Supper, painted in the refectory of the convent of Sta Maria delle Grazie, on a wall twenty-eight feet in length, the figures being larger than life *. The fate of this inimitable picture is not less tragical than that of the statue. Had it been practicable, as Francis the First desired, to break down the wall and carry the painting into France, sixteen years after it was finished, it might have been preserved perhaps to our day. The determination of Leonardo to execute the work in oil-colours instead of fresco, in order to have the power of finishing the minutest details in so great an undertaking, appears to have been unfortunate. The convent, and probably the wall on which the picture is painted, were badly constructed, and the situation of the wall between the kitchen and refectory, was far from favourable. An inundation, too, happened

* Gius. Bossi: Del Cenacolo di Leonardo da Vinci; Milano, 1810.—Goethe's Works, xxxix. 97.

in Milan in 1500, owing to which the refectory remained for a time partly under water, and the bad masonry of the hall, already predisposed to damp, was completely ruined. From these and other circumstances the colours had entirely faded, as early as the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1652 a door was broken open, under the figure of the Saviour, which destroyed the feet. Under a false pretext of giving it a coat of varnish, the picture was entirely painted over in 1726 by an unfortunate bungler named Belotti. In 1770 it was retouched a second time by a certain Mazza, from whose miserable work three heads only were saved. In 1796, when Napoleon led the French over the Alps, he gave express orders that the room should be respected. Succeeding generals disregarded these orders: the refectory was turned into a stable, and afterwards into a magazine for hay, etc. Now, when the ruins of the picture only exist, a custode has been appointed, and a scaffolding erected to admit of closer examination—not of Leonardo's work, for almost all trace of it has disappeared, but of its sad vicissitudes and of the outrages which have been committed upon it.

As the original is all but lost to us, the cartoons which Leonardo sketched of the single heads, before he executed them in the large size, are of the greatest interest, as are also the copies executed for various other places, partly by his scholars, partly even under his own immediate direction. The cartoons are executed in black chalk, and slightly coloured: the Head of 9
Christ is in the Brera at Milan; ten Heads of the
Apostles are in the possession of Messrs. Woodburn, in 10

London. Among the numerous more or less accurate
11 copies, those by Marco d' Oggione, a scholar of Leonardo, are particularly distinguished; one of these in oil, the size of the original, was formerly in the Certosa at Pavia, and is at present in the Academy in London;
12 another is in the refectory of the convent at Castellazzo, not far from Milan. There have been many modern attempts, aided by these materials, to restore the composition of Leonardo in a worthy manner; among these may be mentioned the engraving of Raphael Morghen,
13 and (more especially) the cartoon of the Milanese painter Bossi, the size of the original, now in the Leuchtenberg gallery at Munich. From this cartoon Bossi painted a copy in oil, to be repeated in mosaic.
14 The mosaic is at Vienna in the Ambras gallery. By these means a general idea at least of Leonardo da Vinci's Last Supper has been preserved.

15 We perceive, in the first place, that the traditional style of composition handed down from an earlier period is adhered to; the assembled guests sit on the further side of a long narrow table, Christ being seated in the middle —the most dignified of all arrangements, unless we give up the idea of a repast, like, for example, Luca Signorelli and Fiesole, who rather represented the sacrament of the eucharist. The arrangement seems moreover particularly suitable to the refectory of a convent, where the monks are seated exactly in the same manner, and where the picture, placed opposite to their tables, connects itself with their circle, but is exalted above them by the higher situation and greater size of the figures. This mode of composition, which betrayed the earlier

artists into a disagreeably stiff and monotonous representation, and seems so unfavourable to the development of an animated action, is here enlivened in the most varied manner, while a most naturally imagined connection reduces it to an harmonious whole. The figure of Christ forms the centre; he sits in a tranquil attitude a little apart from the others; the Disciples are arranged three and three together, and they form two separate groups on each side of the Saviour. These four groups in their general treatment indicate a certain correspondence of emotion, and a harmony in movement, united however with the greatest variety in gesture and in the expression of the heads. The gradations of age, from the tender youth of John to the gray hairs of Simon, all the varied emotions of mind, from the deepest sorrow and anxiety to the eager desire of revenge, are here pourtrayed. The results of Leonardo's careful studies in physiognomy, the power of expressing a definite idea and *word* by means of the countenance and movements of the hand, are here displayed in highest mastery.

The well-known words of Christ "One of you shall betray me," have caused the liveliest emotion in the sorrowing party. Christ himself, his hands extended, inclines his head gently on one side with downcast eyes. A sketch for the head of Christ, on a now torn and soiled piece of paper, preserved in the gallery of the Brera, expresses the most elevated seriousness, together with divine gentleness, pain on account of the faithless disciple, a full presentiment of his own death, and resignation to the will of the Father; it gives a faint

idea of what the master may have accomplished in the finished picture. The two groups to the left of Christ are full of impassioned excitement, the figures in the first turning to the Saviour, those in the second speaking to each other; horror, astonishment, suspicion, doubt, alternate in the various expressions: on the other hand, stillness, low whispers, indirect observation, are the prevailing expressions in the groups on the right. In the middle of the first group sits the betrayer, a cunning, sharp profile; he looks up hastily to Christ, as if speaking the words, "Rabbi, is it I?" while, true to the Scriptural account, his left hand and Christ's right hand approach, as if unconsciously, the dish that stands between them.

It has already been remarked that great uncertainty prevails about many of the works ascribed to Leonardo, and that by far the greater part are the works of his scholars: for this reason, a few of the most important only are here mentioned.

16 Among the smaller pictures executed by Leonardo in Milan, the portraits of two ladies beloved by Lodovico Sforza, Cecilia Galleroni and Lucrezia Crivelli, are particularly celebrated; the former is said to be in Milan, the latter in Paris, where it bears the name of "La belle
17 Ferronière*." In the collection of the Ambrosian gallery at Milan is a series of very interesting small works. Among them may be distinguished the portraits of Lodovico and his wife painted in oil, in the early and rather severer manner of the artist: also some portraits

* [Dan, in his Trésor de Fontainebleau, published in 1642, calls this a Duchess of Mantua. See Dr. Waagen, Kunstwerke in Paris, 1839.—ED.]

sketched in crayons; among these, a head of a Lady with downcast eyes, is in the highest degree charming yet dignified.

One of Leonardo's most famous pictures, La Carità— 18
a Mother with several children—also belongs to the period of his residence in Milan; it was formerly in the old gallery at Cassel, and has now disappeared*.

Beside these, there are many excellent originals of Leonardo's in Milan and the surrounding country, as well as numerous copies of the same subjects by his scholars, which attest his full employment in that city. Among 19
these is a Madonna and Child, formerly in the possession of the Araciel family. The Madonna holds the child with both hands; he reaches his hand to her chin, as if to kiss her; his face is still turned to the spectator, toward whom she also looks, as she bends down her head. The expression of the whole is fascinating, and the picture beautifully finished. A half-figure of a Mater 20
Dolorosa too is grand and noble, with the most touching expression †.

A composition of a Holy Family, by Leonardo, is 21
frequently found repeated in this neighbourhood. The original, it appears, is in England. The Madonna holds the infant Christ on her lap, and embraces the little St. John, who kneels with folded hands to receive the blessing and cäresses of Christ. In the background on the right stands Joseph, with folded arms; his aged head, with a somewhat exaggerated expression of joy, is

* Rumohr: Drei Reisen in Italien, p. 70.

† On both compositions, see Fumagalli, *ib.*

22 finished to excess; on the left is Zacharias*. In the Hermitage at Petersburgh there is a similar composition, with the exception of the little St. John; a figure of St. Catherine is also introduced in the place of Zacharias.

After the conquest of Milan Leonardo returned to Florence, his native city, and remained there some years;
23 to this period belong some important works. The first, executed directly after his arrival, a cartoon of the Holy Family (called the "Cartoon of St Anna"), when publicly exhibited, was the admiration of the whole city. The Holy Virgin is represented on the lap of St Anna, her mother; she bends down tenderly to the infant Christ, who plays with a lamb. Although the composition is certainly a strange one—a grown-up woman on the lap of another,—yet the gracefulness of the boy, the affectionate seriousness of the grandmother, and, above all, the sweetness and humility of the Virgin, are most admirably expressed. Leonardo did not execute this work in oil, but many pictures from it, by his scholars, are to be found in different places. The original, executed with extreme care in black chalk, and in good preservation, is in the Royal Academy in London†.

* Passavant: Kunstreise, p. 111. Engraved by Förster, 1835. A copy in the Brera at Milan is ascribed in Fumagalli's work to Cesare da Sesto.—[The picture above mentioned, formerly in the possession of Messrs. Woodburn, is now the property of Lord Monson. One arm of the infant Christ (not of the Virgin) is round the St. John.—ED.]

† [Parts of this drawing (for example, the lower portion of the figure of the infant Christ) have either been effaced by time, or

A second larger cartoon, executed by Leonardo in 24
Florence, and described as one of the greatest masterpieces of modern Art, shared the fate of his bronze statue and Last Supper. It was a commission from the city, and executed in competition with Michael Angelo in the year 1503*. It was intended that paintings should be executed from them in the Palazzo Vecchio. Leonardo took for his subject the victory of the Florentines over Nicolo Picinino, general of Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, in 1440, at Anghiari in Tuscany; Michael Angelo, a scene from the Pisan campaigns. The former chose the last yet doubtful moment of victory; the latter, that in which the battle is just beginning. When these masterly and highly finished cartoons were exhibited, the young artists poured in from all sides to make them their study, and they appear to have exercised a decided influence on the full development of modern Art. Both cartoons have perished: Rubens copied from Leonardo's a group of four horsemen fighting for a standard; this is engraved by Edelingk, and is just sufficient to make us bitterly deplore the loss of this rich and grand work.

Among the works which Leonardo executed in Flo- 25

were originally unfinished; the cartoon is now kept under a glass. The pictures to which the author alludes—no less than four exist in various collections—appear to have been done from a different composition; at all events Vasari's description corresponds only with the drawing in question. Hence the best connoisseurs have concluded that this is the cartoon which was so celebrated in Florence. See Dr. Waagen: Kunstwerke in Paris, p. 426.—Ed.]

* [They were not done precisely at the same time; Michael Angelo's was not completed and shown till 1506. See Passavant: Rafael von Urbino, i. 114.—Ed.]

rence is an Adoration of the Kings, of a large size, in the gallery of the Uffizj. It can only be called a cartoon, since the light brown dead-colour intended to indicate the masses of shadow is all that is finished: it is
26 a rich and beautifully arranged composition. Some female portraits also belong to this time, particularly the two which Vasari pronounces "divine;" one was that of Ginevra, wife of Amerigo Benci, the other that of Mona Lisa, wife of Giocondo, a friend of Leonardo.
27 The latter is in the gallery of the Louvre, a picture of great sweetness of expression and most delicate finish. The painter worked at it for four years, and pronounced it still unfinished. There are several copies of it in galleries,—one for instance is at Munich. To this period is
28 also assigned a portrait of a celebrated old warrior in the Dresden Gallery, Giangiacomo Trivulzi, field-marshal of Louis XII. of France, but according to some authorities this is from the hand of the younger Holbein.

About the year 1514 Leonardo is said to have taken a journey to Rome, but he did not remain there long.
29 To this time a Madonna, painted on the wall of the upper corridor of the convent of S. Onofrio, is said to belong. It is on a gold ground: the action of the Madonna is beautiful, displaying the noblest form, and the expression of the countenance is peculiarly sweet; but the Child, notwithstanding its graceful action, is somewhat hard and heavy, so as almost to warrant the conclusion that this picture belongs to an earlier period, which would suppose a previous visit to Rome.

30 One of Leonardo's most beautiful pictures is in Rome, in the Sciarra palace—two female half-figures of Mo-

desty and Vanity. The former, with a veil over her head, is a particularly pleasing, noble profile, with a clear open expression; she beckons to her sister, who stands fronting the spectator, beautifully arrayed, and with a sweet seducing smile. This picture is remarkably power- 31
ful in colouring and wonderfully finished, but unfortunately has become rather dark in the shadows*. Another half-figure of Vanity, with uncovered bosom and flowers in her hand, an extremely finished picture, is in the collection of the Prince of Orange at Brussels†.

Another and very beautiful picture of Christ with 32
the Doctors, also half-figures, has migrated from the Palazzo Aldobrandini in Rome to the National Gallery in London. Christ is here represented as a youth of great beauty, serenity, and depth of expression; the heads of the Doctors also are full of life and character. There are several copies of this picture‡.

In 1516 Leonardo was invited to the court of Fran- 33
cis I. It is uncertain whether the following pictures, now in Paris, belong to this or to an earlier period:—for example, the charming portrait called La Belle Ferronière, the reputed mistress of Francis I., but which, according to another opinion, is that of Lucrezia Crivelli:—the

* Fumagalli (*ib.*) ascribes this picture to Luini. According to Rumohr, it was painted by Salai, in conjunction with his master. —Drei Reisen, p. 316.

† Passavant: Kunstreise, p. 393.

‡ Passavant: *ib.* 13. Fumagalli (*ib.*) maintains that this picture also is a work of Luini's.—[It passed from the Aldobrandini collection successively to those of Lord Northwick and Mr. Holwell Carr, and was presented by the latter to the National Gallery.—ED.]

beautiful Holy Family, known by the name of La Vierge
34 aux Rochers; in this the Virgin kneels in a romantic rocky scene; the infant Christ is before her, held by an angel; the little St. John, whom she embraces, is adoring: this picture is of a simple graceful character, but is un-
35 happily much injured*:—another Holy Family, with the Archangel Michael (?), etc.

Leonardo died in the year 1519—according to a story not well authenticated—in the arms of the king, who had come to visit the beloved artist in his last illness†.

§ LXIV. Before we proceed to speak of the scholars formed by Leonardo in the Milanese Academy, we must notice some artists who belong properly to a former period, but on whose later education he exercised a decided influence. One of these, Piero di Cosimo, a scholar of Cosimo Rosselli, was a rival of Leonardo in his early Florentine time. In Piero's pictures there is an evident desire to measure himself with his great contemporary:

* [Probably painted by some scholar from a design by Leonardo. Several repetitions exist. See Dr. Waagen: Kunstwerke in Paris, p. 426.—ED.]

† [This story having been repeated since it was shown to be unfounded, it may be as well once more to give the grounds on which it has been doubted. Leonardo died at Cloux near Amboise, May 2, 1519. According to the journal of Francis I., preserved in the Royal Library at Paris, the Court was on that day at St. Germain en Laye. Francesco Melzi, in a letter written to Leonardo's relations immediately after his death, makes no mention of the circumstance in question. Lastly, Lomazzo, who communicated so much respecting the life of the great artist, distinctly says that the king first learned the death of Leonardo from Melzi. See Amoretti: Memorie, etc., Milan, 1804, and the notes to the last Florentine edition (1838) of Vasari.—ED.]

he is occasionally successful in chiaroscuro, but is totally deficient in the nobleness of feeling so striking in Leonardo. His principal works are in Florence. An altar-picture, done for the church Agli Innocenti, is 1
now in the small gallery of that institution; another is 2
in the gallery of the Uffizj. This artist is described as a man given up to gloomy fancies, and this character is impressed upon his works, especially in those small pictures in the Uffizj which represent the history of Per- 3
seus. His landscape backgrounds are generally very excellent. There is a good picture of his in the Berlin Museum,—a recumbent Venus playing with Love, a 4
sleeping Mars in the background. The same fantastic character is here visible, but united with a soft and occasionally beautiful execution.

Lorenzo di Credi was a contemporary of Leonardo in the school of Andrea Verocchio, but followed less the manner of his master than that of his companion. He has copied some of Leonardo's pictures most successfully. His original subjects are generally limited to the narrow circle of tranquil Madonnas and Holy Families; these he painted in a simple graceful manner, with occasionally something of the style of Perugino. There are some excellent pictures by him in the gallery of the 5
Uffizj;—for example, two beautiful round pictures of the Madonna adoring the Infant; and more especially three others with smaller figures,—the Madonna and St. John, Christ as a gardener with Mary Magdalen, and the Woman of Samaria at the Well;—all expressive of the deepest feeling, with excellent colouring and exquisite execution. His principal work is a Nativity, in the 6

Academy at Florence, of larger size, which unites in the happiest manner the style of Perugino with the freer feeling of the Florentines. Among foreign galleries,
7 the Berlin Museum contains several good pictures by this artist.

8 Giovanni Antonio Sogliani was a scholar and successful imitator of Lorenzo. Some of his Madonnas, of a pleasing mild character, are in the Florence Academy.
9 An excellent copy, by him, of Lorenzo's Nativity, is in the Berlin Museum.

To these may be added a less distinguished artist, Giuliano Bugiardini, who in most of his works appears in like manner as an imitator of Leonardo, but who only attained a weak resemblance to his milder expressions.
10 There are specimens of his works in the Gallery at Bologna and in the Berlin Museum.

§ LXV. The distinguishing qualities of Leonardo were variously repeated by his scholars, according to their own individual peculiarities. Although none attained to his eminence, a certain amiable and pure spirit, reflected from his noble mind, pervades the whole school. This spirit seems to have preserved his followers from falling into an unmeaning style, and a mere academic ostentation, which characterize almost all the schools founded by the other great masters of the time. The principal works of Leonardo's scholars are collected in Milan, particularly in the gallery of the Brera; among these the frescos taken from suppressed convents are the most interesting.

Bernardino Luini stands first among these artists,—a

master whose excellence has been by no means sufficiently acknowledged. It is true he rarely rises to the greatness and freedom of Leonardo; but he has a never-failing tenderness and purity, a cheerfulness and sincerity, a grace and feeling, which give an elevated pleasure to the spectator in contemplating his pictures. The spirit of his great model had been so largely imbibed by Luini, that his latest works are generally ascribed to Leonardo. The following are some of them: a very interesting half-figure of an infant St. John playing 1
with a Lamb, in the Ambrosian library at Milan; the
delicate picture of Herodias in the tribune of the Uffizj 2
at Florence; and the extremely beautiful Madonna be- 3
tween St. Catherine and St. Barbara in the Esterhazy
gallery at Vienna; this still bears Leonardo's name.
Milan is rich in the works of Luini; the Ambrosian 4
library, the Brera, the private collections, possess treasures of graceful easel-pictures, but his frescos are still more important. His earlier works are generally somewhat youthfully timid and constrained, the greater part 5
of those, for instance, which have been placed in the
Brera from the dilapidated churches of La Pace and
the convent Della Pelucca, the former representing
events from the life of the Virgin, the latter, classic subjects, handled in a more decorative manner, but full of nature. In Luini's later works, on the other hand, a noble and mature strength developed itself; among these may be mentioned an excellent altarpiece, dated 1521, representing the Madonna enthroned, surrounded 6
by Saints; it was taken from the church of the Brera, and placed in the Gallery. The numerous works in

7 the Monastero Maggiore (S. Maurizio), the altar-wall in the inner church (with the exception of the old altar-picture) and a chapel, are painted by him. Here we have the most beautiful figures of female saints, admirable heads of Christ, and lovely infant angels. From the dado, painted in brown chiaroscuro, to the roof, the walls are covered with masterly frescos, and the spectator can scarcely gaze his fill in this lavish display of fancy. In other Milanese churches there are also
8 some single frescos; a beautiful altar-painting in Sta
9 Maria del Carmine, in a neglected chapel; another in
10 S. Giorgio al Palazzo, etc. His numerous frescos, in the Franciscan convent Degli Angeli at Lugano, are still more important; they were painted about 1529, and exhibit an inexhaustible richness of fancy. The Crucifixion is here more highly finished, particularly in the group of women; there is also a very graceful Madonna, in a lunette over the door of the re-
11 fectory. The frescos executed by Luini in the church at Sarono, about the year 1530*, are not less distinguished; these represent the history of the Virgin. Life is here painted in its most cheerful splendour, and yet with sincerest feeling; the Adoration of the Kings is particularly rich in its invention, noble in style, and delicately conceived; it is also the best preserved.

Aurelio Luini, son of Bernardino, is considerably inferior to his father; he is in general an unpleasing man-
12 nerist. His Martyrdom of St. Vincenzio, in the Brera, is a sufficient example—a large fresco, interesting only

* With respect to the year, see Rumohr: Drei Reisen, etc., p. 309.

as the result of a successful experiment to transfer a fresco-painting to canvass.

Marco d'Oggione.—A clever painter in Leonardo's style, but wanting both the power of the master and the fascinating sweetness and deeper charm of Bernardino Luini; a cold tone of colour prevails throughout his works. His frescos in the Brera, taken from Sta Maria 13
della Pace, are not very important; they generally want repose in composition, and are trivial in detail. Among his easel-pictures, on the contrary, some possess a beautiful calm dignity, particularly the Three Archangels in 14
the Brera, in which the drawing of the figures and bland expression of the countenances well deserve attention. His copies of Leonardo's Last Supper have been already mentioned.

Andrea Salaino (Salai) resembles d'Oggione, with more freedom, more power, and warmth of colouring. One of his principal works is in the Brera—a Madonna 15
and Child, to whom St. Peter delivers the Keys; St. Paul stands behind. The picture is not important in composition, but is distinguished by its unconstrained action, after Leonardo's manner. His painting from Leonardo's 16
cartoon of St' Anna deserves particular commendation; this also is in the Brera.

Giovan Antonio Beltraffio.—Gentleness is the characteristic of this artist; his drawing however is somewhat timid and dry, thus indicating an affinity with the old Milanese school. His principal work is an altar-pic- 17
ture, painted for Sta Maria della Misericordia at Bologna, and now in the Louvre—a Madonna and Child, between John the Baptist and St. Sebastian, with the

donors kneeling: the latter are very beautiful; the St. Sebastian is simple and noble; the Madonna, on
18 the contrary, is rather constrained *. A Sta Barbara, by the same artist, is in the Berlin Museum,—a figure of peculiarly grand statue-like dignity.

Francesco Melzi.—A noble Milanese (as was the artist last mentioned) and a friend of Leonardo. His pictures are little known; they are said to bear a strong resemblance to Leonardo's and to be frequently mistaken for them. In the castle of Vaprio (one of the posses-
19 sions of the Melzi) is a colossal fresco of a Madonna and Child, a very grand work, probably by him. A
20 Pomona and Vertumnus, in the Berlin Museum, formerly ascribed to Leonardo, now bears the name of Francesco.

Cesare da Sesto.—A more important artist, who at a later period is found in the school of Raphael at Rome, and was on friendly terms with that master. His early works are pleasing, and resemble Leonardo's: in his later we observe some of the peculiarities of the Roman school, which however do not combine quite happily with those of the Milanese. Among the former is a
21 youthful Head of Christ, in the Ambrosian library at Milan, of very bland and unaffected expression, simply
22 and beautifully painted; also a beautiful Baptism of Christ, in the house of duke Scotti at Milan, an excellent picture, with a rich and very elaborate landscape. The latter is by the landscape-painter Bernazzano, who

* During the time of the French usurpation, this picture was in the central gallery at Milan. I am ignorant whether it remains there, or where it is at present.

often painted in this manner with Cesare. In the Man- 23
frini gallery at Venice are two Madonnas, and as they
are painted in the two styles above alluded to, they afford
interesting points of comparison. One of the largest 24
pictures of Cesare's later time is an Adoration of the
Kings, with many figures, in the Museo Borbonico at
Naples. The Madonna and Child are in Leonardo's
manner, the other figures in Raphael's; but it is over-
laden in the composition, and displays that degenerate
mannerism which soon crept in among the scholars of
Raphael.

Gaudenzio Vinci of Novara.—An altar-picture at 25
Arona near Milan, distinguished by nobleness of mien
and truth of expression. It leans to the manner of Pe-
rugino and Francia*.

§ LXVI. Gaudenzio Ferrari.—This artist, strictly speaking, is not a scholar of Leonardo; he appears to have proceeded from the old school of Milan (§ XLVIII), which maintained itself till the beginning of the six-teenth century; but the influence of Leonardo is not to

* Schorn. in the Tüb. Kunstblatt, 1823, p. 2. There is a picture in the Manfrini palace in Venice attributed to Perugino (formerly, it appears, to Luini); the date inscribed on it is 1500: it is probably a work by Gaudenzio. It represents Christ Washing the Feet of his Disciples. The arrangement is solemn and beautiful; the apostles are simply ranged next each other; on the left, Peter sits at the basin, at the right Christ kneels, behind him John holds the napkin. The folds of the drapery are partly Peruginesque, partly in the manner of the old Venetian schools. In the heads the styles of the Umbrian and Venetian schools are mixed with that of Leonardo, or rather Luini; one youthful head is painted quite in the graceful manner of the latter. On the school of Leonardo generally, see Passavant in the Tüb. Kunstblatt, 1838, No. 69, etc.

be mistaken. Like Cesare da Sesto, he worked at a later period under Raphael at Rome, and imbibed a great deal of the manner of that school. Together with this union of different influences, he had a peculiarly fantastic style of his own. It distinguishes him from his contemporaries, and, although never quite free from mannerism, it was the source of characteristic beauties.
1 In the gallery of the Brera are numerous frescos by him, principally taken from Santa Maria della Pace. Of these, the history of Joachim and Anna (the parents of the Virgin *), in three connected pictures, is very interesting; a grand freedom of conception, united with a noble execution, give a very peculiar charm to this work †.

Among the followers of Gaudenzio Ferrari, are—Andrea Solario, specimens of whose works are in the Louvre and Berlin Museum.

Bernardino Lanini.—Not very important, nor free from a degenerate mannerism, but with some pleasing
2 reminiscences of Leonardo's school. A Last Supper,
3 at S. Nazaro Grande at Milan, is of this kind, and an altar-picture in the Berlin Museum.

Giovanni Battista Cerva.—Unimportant.

His scholar, Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, resembles Lanini. He has great merit as a writer on Art. (Trattato della Pittura, 1584. Idea del tempio della Pittura, 1590.)

Ambrogio Figino, scholar of Lomazzo.—A weak and mannered imitator of the early styles.

* [See the Flos Sanctorum.—ED.]

† For the fullest information respecting Gaudenzio Ferrari's interesting works at Varallo, Vercelli, Saronno, etc., see "Le opere del pittore e plasticatore Gaud. Ferrari disegnate ed incise da Pianazzi, descritte da Gaud. Bordiga; Milano, 1835.

CHAPTER II.

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONAROTTI, AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

§ LXVII. In the year 1474, twenty-two years later than Leonardo da Vinci, was born Michael Angelo Buonarotti *. Like Leonardo he led the way in accomplishing the perfection of modern Art, and shone as one of its brightest lights; but Michael Angelo lived to witness its rapid decline, and died at a very advanced age in 1563. Like Leonardo, his talents were universal; he was at once architect, sculptor, painter, and equally great in each art. He was an excellent poet† and musician, conversant in science, and a profound anatomist. To the study of anatomy alone he devoted twelve years, and produced results evincing the highest possible mastery. A proud stern spirit gave its peculiar impress alike to the actions and works of Michael Angelo—a spirit which valued its own independence above all, and

* Giorgio Vasari: Vita del gran Michelagnolo Buonarotti, Firenze 1568 (a separate impression of the Life of M. Angelo in Vasari's great work); Later edition, Roma 1760 (aggiuntevi copiose note). —Ascanio Condivi: Vita di Michel Angelo Buonarroti, Roma 1553; Seconda edizione accresciuta, Firenze 1746; New edition, Pisa 1823. —Quatremère de Quincy: Hist. de Michel-Angel. Buonarotti, Paris 1835.—Compare: Beschreibung der Stadt Rom. bd. ii. abth. 2, p. 254, ff. etc.—Outlines in Landon: Vies et Œuvres, etc., t. Michel Ange Buonarotti.—Catalogue of engravings after Michael Angelo, in the Nachrichten von Kunstlern und Kunstsachen, Leipzig 1768, band i. p. 355, ff.

† [The spirit of Michael Angelo's poetry has been lately rendered accessible to the English reader in a translation of select specimens, accompanied by an enlightened introductory dissertation, by Mr. John Edward Taylor.—Ed.]

knew how to embody its profound thoughts in distinct creations without having recourse to the symbolic veil. His figures, if I may so speak, have a certain mysterious architectural grandeur; they are the expression of primæval strength, which stamps them, whether in motion or in rest, with a character of highest energy, of sublimest passion.

2 Michael Angelo began his career as an artist in the school of Domenico Ghirlandajo, but soon, influenced by inclination and external circumstances, he turned to the study and practice of sculpture. His first important work in the department of painting, the cartoon already mentioned, which he executed in emulation of the more practised Leonardo da Vinci, appeared when he had only just attained to manhood. Michael Angelo's cartoon is also lost (it is said to have been destroyed by Baccio Bandinelli, one of his rivals), but the greater part of the composition is known to us by some old engravings and copies*. Michael Angelo chose for his subject the commencement of the battle, and, as appears from the existing copies, the moment when a crowd of Florentine soldiers, bathing in the Arno, unexpectedly hear the summons to battle. This choice enabled the artist to display in full and lively development his knowledge of the human form. All is in movement: the

* Single figures and groups of the cartoon, some known by the title of "The Climbers" (Les Grimpeurs), exist in different engravings by Marc-Antonio and Agostino da Venezia. An old copy of the principal part of the composition, painted in oil in chiaroscuro, is at Holkham in the possession of the Earl of Leicester.—See Passavant: Kunstreise, etc., p. 194. Engraved by Schiavonetti: Reveil, 541.

warriors, some already clothed, some half or wholly naked, crowd hastily together; some clamber up the steep shore from the river, others press their naked limbs into their tight clothing, others again fully armed hasten to join the combat. In the opinion of his contemporaries*, Michael Angelo never again created a work so perfect, but this opinion appears to refer principally to the execution. These cartoons, as already observed, had a considerable influence on the progress of the younger contemporaries of the two great masters.

In the next succeeding years Michael Angelo was 3
again employed on a great work in sculpture†, having been invited to Rome by Pope Julius II., and entrusted with the execution of a splendid monument, of which however, only a small portion was ultimately finished. The Pope himself was the principal cause of the interruption, for independently of frequent misunderstandings on the subject of the monument which had arisen between him and the artist, he had conceived the idea of employing him to paint in fresco the ceiling of the Sistine Cha- 4
pel, which had hitherto remained unadorned‡. Michael Angelo at first wished to decline this commission, which

* See particularly, Vita di Benvenuto Cellini, i. 2.

† [Michael Angelo's principal works in sculpture, prior to the period in question, were the David and the group of the Pietà; by no means such extensive undertakings as the proposed monument.—ED.]

‡ [Vasari relates that Pope Julius II. wished to have the works of the earlier masters (see § XL. 15. and note) destroyed, but adds that Michael Angelo suffered them to remain from a desire to show the improvement that had taken place in the Art since they were done. Among the great artist's reasons, we may fairly include his respect for the feelings of the artists, several of whom were still living. He may also have been influenced (see a subsequent note)

would necessarily interrupt the work already in progress, and probably did not feel himself quite equal to the execution of a work in fresco. As the Pope however earnestly insisted, he began this immense undertaking in 1508, and completed it, without assistance, in the space of three years*. In the commencement he had sent for some former fellow-scholars and friends from Florence to execute some of the paintings from his cartoons, perhaps also to learn from them the practice of fresco-painting, in which he had had little experience. Their work however proved unsatisfactory; he sent them home again, obliterated what they had begun, and finished the work alone.

The ceiling of the Sistine Chapel contains the most perfect works done by Michael Angelo in his long and active life. Here his great spirit appears in its noblest dignity, in its highest purity; here the attention is not disturbed by that arbitrary display to which his great power not unfrequently seduced him in other works. The ceiling forms a flattened arch in its section; the central portion, which is a plane surface, contains a series of large and small pictures, representing the most important events recorded in the book of Genesis—the Creation and Fall of Man, with its immediate consequences. In the large triangular compartments at the springing of the vault are sitting figures of the Prophets

by the nature of the subjects, which, in their general order and import, were capable of being combined with the plan he contemplated.—Ed.]

* According to concurrent testimony, M. Angelo was employed but twenty-two months on these paintings; but it is impossible that the execution of the cartoons can be included in this short period; hence the above assumption.

and Sibyls as the foretellers of the coming of the Saviour*. In the soffits of the recesses between these compartments, and in the arches underneath, immediately above the windows, are the ancestors of the Virgin, the series leading the mind directly to the Saviour. The external connexion of these numerous representations is formed by an architectural framework of peculiar composition which encloses the single subjects, tends to make the principal masses conspicuous, and gives to the whole an appearance of that solidity and support so necessary, but so seldom attended to in soffit decorations, which may be considered as if suspended. A great number of figures are also connected with the

* The Sibyls, according to the legends of the middle ages, stand next in dignity to the Prophets of the Old Testament. It was their office to foretel the coming of the Saviour to the heathen, as it was that of the Prophets to announce him to the Jews.

[The Sibyls are alluded to by Greek, Roman and Jewish writers, and by most of the Christian fathers. The latter, on the authority of Varro, enumerate ten of these prophetesses. (See Lactantius De Falsâ Religione, i. 6). The authority of the Sibylline writings with the pagans soon suggested the pious fraud of interpolating them; the direct allusions to the Messiah which they contain are supposed to have been inserted in the second century. (See Blondel des Sibylles célèbres). But notwithstanding the occasional expression of some suspicion as to their authenticity, these spurious predictions continued to be held in veneration not only during the middle ages, but even to a comparatively modern date, and the Sibyls were represented in connexion with Scripture subjects before and after Michael Angelo's time by various painters. The circumstance of their appearing in works of art as equal in rank with the Prophets may have arisen from the manner in which St. Augustine (De Civit. Dei, xviii. 47) speaks of the Erythræan Sibyl's testimony, immediately before he adverts to that of the Prophets of the Old Testament. The fullest of the numerous dissertations on the Sibyls is, perhaps, that of Clasen (De Oraculis Gentilium: Helmstad. 1673).—ED.]

framework; those in unimportant situations are executed in the colour of stone or bronze; in the more important, in natural colours. They serve to support the architectural forms, to fill up and to connect the whole. They may be best described as the living and embodied *genii* of architecture. It required the united power of an architect, sculptor and painter to conceive a structural whole of so much grandeur, to design the decorative figures with the significant repose required by their sculpturesque character, and yet to preserve their subordination to the principal subjects, and to keep the latter in the proportions and relations best adapted to the space to be filled. Many artists at a later period have made the like attempt, particularly Annibal Caracci, in the Farnese palace (§ CVI. 15), but none have seized and carried out the idea of the whole with the same natural and consistent connexion.

5 The scenes from Genesis in the flat space of the roof are the most sublime representations of these subjects;—the Creating Spirit is unveiled before us. The peculiar type which the painter has here given of the form of the Almighty Father has been frequently imitated by his followers, and even by Raphael, but has been surpassed by none. Michael Angelo has represented him in majestic flight, sweeping through the air, surrounded by *genii*, partly supporting, partly borne along with him, covered by his floating drapery; they are the distinct syllables, the separate virtues of his creating word.—In the first [large] compartment we see him with extended hands assigning to the sun and moon their respective paths.—In the second, he awakens the first man to life. Adam lies stretched on the verge of the earth in the act of

raising himself; the Creator touches him with the point of his finger, and appears thus to endow him with feeling and life. This picture displays a wonderful depth of thought in the composition, and the utmost elevation and majesty in the general treatment and execution.—The third subject is not less important, representing the Fall of Man and his Expulsion from Paradise. The tree of knowledge stands in the middle, the serpent (the upper part of the body being that of a woman*) is twined round the stem; she bends down toward the guilty pair, who are in the act of plucking the forbidden fruit. The figures are nobly graceful, particularly that of Eve. Close to the serpent hovers the angel with the sword, ready to drive the fallen beings out of paradise. In this double action, this union of two separate moments, there is something peculiarly poetic and significant: it is guilt and punishment in one picture. The sudden and lightning-like appearance of the avenging angel behind the demon of darkness has a most impressive

* [Michael Angelo's feeling for beauty led him to combine the human and serpentine forms more agreeably than preceding painters had contrived this. His Tempter somewhat resembles the classic ocean deities, or, more literally, Hesiod's Echidna: but the serpent with a female head occurs in much earlier representations of the Fall; among others, in that by Pietro d'Orvieto in the Campo Santo at Pisa, and still earlier in illuminated MSS. In the woodcuts imitated from these in the printed copies of the Speculum Salvationis and other compendiums of the kind, the serpent is sometimes winged, and the female head is adorned with a crown. The first chapter of the work just named contains the following passage: "Quoddam ergo genus serpentis sibi dyabolus eligebat, qui cum erectus gradiebatur et *caput virgineum* habebat." This fable is given nearly in the same words by Comestor (Historia Scholastica), a writer of the twelfth century, with the addition, "ut ait Beda," so that it is at least as old as the eighth.—ED.]

effect.—The fourth, a representation of the Deluge, with many figures, is one of the most extensive dramatic compositions of Michael Angelo. The four small intermediate compartments, representing the Almighty separating Light from Darkness, the Creation of Eve, the Thanksgiving of Noah, and the Inebriation of Noah, all display great and peculiar beauties*.

6 The Prophets and Sibyls in the triangular compartment of the curved portion of the ceiling, are the largest figures in the whole work; these, too, are among

* [There are *five* smaller subjects (see the accompanying engraving); the one omitted by the author is the Gathering of the Waters (Gen. i. 9). Although these compartments are relatively small, some of them contain figures larger than life: on the other hand, in one of the large subjects—the Deluge—the figures are so small, owing to their number, that the composition can scarcely be distinguished from below (and must always have been indistinct, making every allowance for the injuries of time). The same may be said of the two subjects next it, the Sacrifice of Noah, and the same patriarch derided by Ham. These three subjects are the last in order at that end of the flat portion of the ceiling which is next the door; the figures toward the other end are colossal. This difference might be partly accounted for by supposing the subjects with small figures to have been the first done, when the painter, finding that they produced no effect from below, changed the dimensions as we see, to satisfy the eye. That Michael Angelo really began at this end of the ceiling, appears from an incidental statement of Condivi relating to the disgust which the great artist felt from a temporary alteration of the colours (and partly, perhaps, from the defect to which we allude). The biographer says, "having commenced the undertaking and completed the painting of the Deluge, the surface of the fresco began to exhibit a mouldy efflorescence," etc. It is true it would have been difficult to represent such a subject as the Deluge with very few figures, and the greatest number in the compositions of larger treatment is six (the double subject of the Fall and Expulsion from Paradise has no more), but any liberty of this kind would have been preferable to the indistinctness resulting from diminutive size.—ED.]

the most wonderful forms that modern Art has called into life. They are all represented seated, employed with books, or rolled manuscripts; *genii* stand near or behind them. These mighty beings sit before us pensive, meditative, inquiring, or looking upwards with inspired countenances. Their forms and movements, indicated by the grand lines and masses of the drapery, are majestic and dignified. We see in them beings who, while they feel and bear the sorrows of a corrupt and sinful world, have power to look for consolation into the secrets of the future. Yet the greatest variety prevails in the attitudes and expression—each figure is full of individuality. Zacharias is an aged man, busied in calm and circumspect investigation; Jeremiah is bowed down absorbed in thought—the thought of deep and bitter grief; Ezekiel turns with hasty movement to the *genius* next to him, who points upwards with joyful expectation, etc. The Sibyls are equally characteristic: the Persian—a lofty, majestic woman, very aged; the Erythræan—full of power, like the warrior goddess of wisdom; the Delphic—like Cassandra, youthfully soft and graceful, but with strength to bear the awful seriousness of revelation, etc.

The Genealogy of the Holy Virgin * is represented in 7
the most varied family groups, which, without delinea-

* [Some Biblical commentators have explained the difference between the genealogies recorded by St. Matthew and St. Luke, by supposing that the latter gives the descent of the Virgin; but even this view (which is not that of the church of Rome) is inapplicable here, since Michael Angelo has given the descent of Joseph as it appears in St. Matthew; the names being inscribed near the figures.—ED.]

ting particular events (of which, indeed, few are mentioned in the Scriptures), express domestic union and a tranquil expectation and hope in the future. To these simple circumstances the artist has given the most varied *motifs*, and has produced from them a series of groups, which please by a peculiar air of seclusion and a dignified and beautiful conception of domestic life. These groups and figures belong again to Michael Angelo's noblest compositions; they display a depth of feeling and tenderness, which, though still bearing the impress of his elevated mind, is rarely found in his works, and offer interesting points of comparison with the Holy Families of Raphael.

8 Four historical subjects in the corner soffits of the ceiling are still to be mentioned; they represent instances of the deliverance of the people of Israel *:— Judith, after she has slain Holofernes; Goliath vanquished by David; the Miracle of the Brazen Serpent; and the Punishment of Haman. In these works also the great genius of the artist manifests itself: the figure of Haman on the Cross has always been celebrated as a master-work of difficult foreshortening

9 After these paintings the artist was occupied chiefly with statues and architectural works, of which the principal were the new sacristy of S. Lorenzo at Florence, and the monuments of the Medici family, which are placed there. In his sixtieth year he was invited
10 to undertake his second great work in painting, the Last Judgement, on the end wall of the Sistine Chapel, sixty

* [See a note on these four subjects at the end of the chapter.—ED.]

feet high. He began it at the desire of Clement VII., and finished it within seven years, in the pontificate of Paul III., in the year 1541. If we consider the countless number of figures, the boldness of the conception, the variety of movement and attitude, the masterly drawing, particularly the extraordinary and difficult foreshortenings, this immense work certainly stands alone in the history of Art, but in purity and majesty it does not equal the paintings on the ceiling.

In the upper half of the picture we see the Judge of the world, surrounded by the apostles and patriarchs; beyond these, on one side are the martyrs; on the other, different saints, and a numerous host of the blessed. Above, under the two arches of the vault, two groups of angels bear the instruments of the passion. Below the Saviour another group of angels holding the books of life sound the trumpets to awaken the dead. On the right is represented the resurrection; and higher, the ascension of the blessed. On the left, hell, and the fall of the condemned, who audaciously strive to press upwards to heaven.

The day of wrath ("dies iræ") is before us—the day, of which the old hymn says—

> Quantus tremor est futurus,
> Quando judex est venturus
> Cuncta strictè discussurus.

The Judge turns in wrath toward the condemned and raises his right hand, with an expression of rejection and condemnation; beside him the Virgin veils herself with her drapery, and turns, with a countenance

full of anguish, toward the blessed *. The martyrs, on the left, hold up the instruments and proofs of their martyrdom, in accusation of those who had occasioned their temporal death: these the avenging angels drive from the gates of heaven, and fulfil the sentence pronounced against them. Trembling and anxious the dead rise slowly, as if still fettered by the weight of an earthly nature; the pardoned ascend to the blessed; a mysterious horror pervades even their hosts—no joy nor peace, nor blessedness are to be found here.

It must be admitted that the artist has laid a stress on this view of his subject, and this has produced an unfavourable effect upon the upper half of the picture. We look in vain for the glory of heaven, for beings who bear the stamp of divine holiness, and renunciation of human weakness: everywhere we meet with the expression of human passion, of human efforts. We see no choir of solemn tranquil forms, no harmonious unity of clear grand lines, produced by ideal draperies; instead of these, we find a confused crowd of the most varied movements, naked bodies in violent attitudes, unaccompanied by any of the characteristics made sacred by a holy tradition. Christ, the principal figure of the whole, wants every attribute but that of the Judge: no expression of divine majesty reminds us that it is the Saviour who exercises this office. The upper half of the composition is in many parts heavy, notwithstanding the

* The *motive* of both figures is borrowed, as already remarked (§ XXV. 5), from the old fresco by Orgagna, in the Campo Santo, at Pisa.

masterly boldness of the drawing; obscure, in spite of the separation of the principal and accessory groups; capricious, notwithstanding a grand arrangement of the whole. But, granting for a moment that these defects exist, still this upper portion, as a whole, has a very impressive effect, and, at the great distance from which it is seen, some of the defects alluded to are less offensive to the eye. The lower half deserves the highest praise. In these groups, from the languid resuscitation and upraising of the pardoned, etc., to the despair of the condemned, every variety of expression, anxiety, anguish, rage, and despair, is powerfully delineated. In the convulsive struggles of the condemned with the evil demons, the most passionate energy displays itself, and the extraordinary skill of the artist here finds its most appropriate exercise. A peculiar tragic grandeur pervades alike the beings who are given up to despair and their hellish tormentors. This representation of all that is fearful, far from being repulsive, is thus invested with that true moral dignity which is so essential a condition in the higher aims of Art.

The nudity of almost all the figures gave offence even during the life of the artist. Pope Paul IV., who cared little for Art, wished to have the painting destroyed; but it was afterwards arranged that Daniele da Volterra, one of Michael Angelo's scholars, should cover some of the most objectionable figures with drapery, which fixed upon him the nickname of "Il Braghettone." At a later period the effect of the picture was again injured by a repetition of the same affectation.

A very excellent copy, of small dimensions (seven 11

and a half feet high), executed under the direction of Michael Angelo, by Marcello Venusti, is in the Museo Borbonico at Naples *.

12 Two excellent frescos, executed by Michael Angelo on the side walls of the Pauline Chapel, in the Vatican, belong to the same period. They are little cared for, and are so much blackened by the smoke of lamps that they are seldom mentioned. The Crucifixion of St. Peter, under the large window, is in a most unfavourable light, but is distinguished for its grand, severe composition. That on the opposite wall—the Conversion of St. Paul—is still tolerably distinct. The long train of his soldiers is seen ascending in the background. Christ, surrounded by a host of angels, bursts upon his sight from the storm-flash. Paul lies stretched on the ground, —a noble and finely developed form. His followers fly on all sides or are struck motionless by the thunder. The arrangement of the groups is excellent, and some of the single figures are very dignified; the composition has, moreover, a principle of order and repose, which, in comparison with the Last Judgement, places this picture in a very favourable light.

The pictures ascribed to Michael Angelo in different galleries are rarely genuine; he very seldom exercised his
13 hand in easel-pictures. In the tribune of the Uffizj, at Florence, is a round picture of a Holy Family, in distemper, which is perhaps his only strictly authenticated easel-picture †. It belongs to his early time, and is one

* [On the general arrangement and connexion of the subjects in the Cappella Sistina, see the note at the end of this chapter.—Ed.]

† Vasari: Vita di Michelagno.

of his least attractive productions—affected in the composition, disagreeable and mannered in the execution. In the Pitti gallery at Florence a picture of the Three 14
Fates is ascribed to him—severe, keen, characteristic figures; but it can scarcely be genuine. A Leda, also 15
in distemper, appears to have been lost *; an old copy of this grand composition, in the royal palace at Berlin, has been often quoted as the original.

Although Michael Angelo showed little inclination for easel-pictures himself, he allowed his scholars and other artists to copy from his drawings and cartoons. In this way many of his compositions have been spread abroad; the grand majestic spirit of the master gives them their character, but their individual value obviously depends on the greater or less ability of the painters employed. One of the best known and most beautiful of these compositions is a Holy Family, where 16
the child sleeps on the lap of the Virgin with his arm hanging down; on one side is the little St. John clothed in a panther's skin; on the other, Joseph looks on in silence. The various copies of this picture are distinguished by trifling variations; one of the best was, a few years ago, in the possession of Messrs. Woodburn of London †.

Equally grand is a Pietà (the Dead Body of Christ 17

* [Both the cartoon and the picture are in England.—Ed.]

† [This picture, by Marcello Venusti, is still in their possession; the original drawing by Michael Angelo has lately passed from their hands to the collection of the King of Holland. The same royal amateur obtained from them Michael Angelo's drawing of the Expulsion of the Money-changers. M. Venusti's painting from this still belongs to Messrs. Woodburn.—Ed.]

in the lap of the Virgin), the arms supported by two angels. There is a small copy in the Munich Gallery.

18 A Christ on the Mount of Olives occurs frequently (at Berlin, Vienna, Munich, etc.): the original drawing is in the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence. Two moments are represented: on the one side, Christ is at prayer; on the

19 other, he awakens the sleeping disciples. An Annunciation, in the gallery of the Duke of Wellington, is a very grand, solemn, and dignified composition; the original drawing of this also is in the Uffizj at Florence. The

20 Crucifixion is a very frequent subject: an excellent copy by Sebastian del Piombo is in the Museum at Berlin.

The same grand feeling which reigns in Michael Angelo's religious subjects pervades his representations from the ancient mythology—representations in which the pleasures of sense form the subject. The Leda, already mentioned, is a fine example of the dignity and purity of his conceptions in subjects of this kind. A

21 Venus kissed by Love is also a picture of wonderful freedom, power and life. A masterly copy of this composition, by Pontormo, is in the royal palace of Kensington, near

22 London. The original cartoon, and a less satisfactory copy by one of Michael Angelo's scholars, are in the

23 Museum at Naples. To this class belongs also a Ganymede, borne through the air by the Eagle; of this there are many copies: an excellent one is in the gallery of the royal palace at Berlin; another is at Kensington.

24 The work which occupied the last ten years of this great artist's life was the building of St. Peter's. Persevering with iron energy, without any remuneration,

for the honour of God only, he had nearly brought this undertaking to its completion, according to his own plan, while every previous attempt had miscarried. It must be admitted that this work is not entirely free from the effects of a capricious taste; but the disposition of the whole is so singularly grand, that had not the general effect of the building been injured by later additions, it would have ranked among the most sublime works of modern architecture.

§ LXVIII. Among the scholars of Michael Angelo 1
may be mentioned Marcello Venusti, who executed a great many works after the drawings of the master, and is distinguished by a delicate and neat execution (see § LXVII. 11). Michael Angelo willingly employed the 2
Venetian Fra Sebastiano del Piombo, in a similar way; by this means he united his own admirable drawing with the beautiful colouring of the Venetian school, and thus hoped to establish a counterpoise to the school of Raphael, to which in many respects he stood opposed. For the account of one of the most important works of this kind, see § XCVI. 15. The best and most independent 3
scholar of Michael Angelo is Daniele Ricciarelli, named Daniele da Volterra, an artist who imbibed the peculiarities of his master, though he by no means reached his sublimity*. His best work, a Descent from the 4
Cross, in the Trinità de' Monti, at Rome, is copious in composition, and, altogether a grand impassioned work, full of powerful action. A very celebrated picture, the Massacre of the Innocents, by him, is in the tri- 5

* Outlines in Landon: Vies et Œuvres, etc., t. Daniele Ricciarelli.

bune of the Uffizj at Florence; it contains more than seventy figures, but it is cold and artificial. Daniele is said also to have undertaken some of the paintings on the external walls of the Roman palaces, a mode of decoration which in his time was much in fashion. Some subjects from the history of Judith, painted in grey chiaroscuro, which still embellish the façade of the Massimi palace, are ascribed to him; they are clever works, but deficient in true inward energy.

NOTE ON THE SUBJECTS OF THE PAINTINGS IN THE CAPPELLA SISTINA.

The paintings of the Sistine Chapel have been often described, particularly with reference to their style: a few observations are here added on the connexion of the subjects. In the general plan Michael Angelo appears to have followed the ordinary series of Biblical types and antitypes familiar in his time, and indeed for centuries previously, by means of illuminated compendiums of the Old and New Testament. The spirit of these cycles of Scripture subjects was the same from first to last: an ulterior meaning was always contemplated: everything was typical. This was in accordance with the system of interpretation introduced by the earliest fathers of the church, confirmed and followed up by its four great doctors, and carried to absurd excess by some theologians of the middle ages. At first the incidents of the Old Testament were referred, as we have seen, only to the Redeemer; but in later times the Madonna was also typified in the heroines of the Jewish history. The cycles of subjects referring to both are by some supposed to have existed in MS. illuminations so early as the ninth century (see Heinecken: Idée d'une collection complète d'estampes, p. 319).

The decoration of the Cappella Sistina was begun by various masters (see § XL. 15 and note), under Sixtus IV., about 1474; How far the original plan was to have extended, and what its general arrangement would have been, it is useless to inquire; but,

certainly the additions made at various times by Michael Angelo, and first begun in 1508, however different in style, were contrived by him to correspond sufficiently well in general sequence with the earlier works. A similar connection seems to have been intended by Raphael, in decorating the remaining portion of the walls of the chapel, under these frescos, with the tapestries from the cartoons; the subjects of which, taken from the Acts of the Apostles, thus still followed in chronological order (see a subsequent note). We proceed briefly to describe the general arrangement of the series treated or contemplated by his great rival.

On the wall over and on each side of the entrance-door Michael Angelo had intended to paint the Fall of Lucifer, so as to correspond with the Last Judgement on the altar-wall opposite. The sketches and studies which he had prepared for this work were afterwards employed and badly copied in fresco by one of his assistants, in the church of the Trinità de' Monti, at Rome (Vasari: Vita di M. Angelo). This fresco has long ceased to exist; some of the drawings may, however, yet come to light*. The subject in question, although it would have been the last done, would have formed the beginning of the cycle: then follow the subjects of the Creation, the Fall of Man, etc., on the ceiling; the Prophets and Sibyls, the Genealogy of the Redeemer, and four types from Jewish history (see the next note). One of these—perhaps it may be considered the last of the series as to place†—representing Moses and the Brazen Serpent, may have been intended as the immediate connecting link between the subjects on the ceiling and the histories of Moses and Christ, by the older masters, below. Underneath these last again were the tapestries from Raphael's cartoons. These decorations, though moveable, were always arranged in the same order. The central subjects in the lower part of the altar-wall were originally the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin; the first a fresco by Perugino; the latter, under it, a tapestry from one of Raphael's cartoons, now lost‡. Both, together with other works, were

* It is possible that some may be in the hands of collectors, but may be erroneously considered to belong to the Last Judgement.

† Vasari calls the Jonah which precedes it, the last of the single figures.

‡ See the Editor's note, § XL. 15, and a subsequent note at the end of Ch. IV., Bk. V., on the original situation of the tapestries.

afterwards removed to make room for Michael Angelo's Last Judgement. Perino del Vaga ultimately made some fresh designs for tapestries to fill the narrow space which remained underneath that fresco, but these latter were never executed.

If we now compare this cycle with those frequently occurring in illuminated MSS., Italian and Transalpine, we shall find that the order of the subjects generally corresponds. It need not be objected that the designs in these MSS. (which, however, must not be judged by the very inferior inventions and copies in the first attempts at wood-engraving) were unworthy the attention of a great artist; it is merely intended to show that the same series of Scriptural types, which appears to have been at least tacitly authorized by the church in the middle ages, was adopted by Michael Angelo. The series here more particularly alluded to is known by the name of the "Speculum Humanæ Salvationis," a title quite applicable to the general scheme of the Sistine Chapel. MS. copies of the work exist in the British Museum, in the Royal Library at Paris, and elsewhere. In this compendium the first subject is the Fall of Lucifer; then follow the Creation of Eve, the Disobedience of Man, the Deluge, etc.: in connexion with the Nativity of the Virgin we find the Genealogical "Stem of Jesse;" and in connexion with the Birth of Christ the Sibyl shows Augustus the vision of the Virgin and Child; Esther and Judith appear as types of the Madonna; and David Slaying Goliath prefigures Christ's Victory over Satan in the Temptation*. In some of the printed editions the subject of Jonah immediately precedes the Last Judgement; the same connexion is observed in the altar-wall of the Cappella Sistina, and although there was an interval of many years between the completion of the two frescos, this seems to prove that the entire series was always contemplated. In MS. Gospels, and some editions of the Biblia Pauperum, the subjects of the New Testament are surmounted or surrounded by busts of the Prophets. While remarking these coincidences we may observe that the story of Heliodorus, so finely treated by Raphael and alluded to by Dante (Purg. c. 20), occurs in the Speculum Salvationis in connexion with Christ's Entry into Jerusalem (the Expulsion of the Money-changers).

In considering the whole cycle of the Cappella Sistina it will be

* The subject of the Brazen Serpent occurs in the Biblia Pauperum.

seen that the Bible subjects by Michael Angelo are more abundant than the antitypes by the older masters, who had occupied one wall with incidents from the life of Moses; but it would have been impossible to destroy these latter without also removing the opposite series from the New Testament, and this would have involved the necessity of repainting the whole, a labour which Michael Angelo, anxious to complete his undertakings in sculpture, probably wished to avoid. If, however, we assume the possibility of his ever having contemplated the repainting of this lower series, in accordance with the wishes of Julius II., we may then conclude that some of his designs for New Testament subjects (of which a few were copied in a small size by Marcello Venusti) may have been intended for this purpose.

Even as it is, perhaps no earlier painter followed the order indicated in the cycles that have been quoted, more implicitly than Michael Angelo. The reason of this may have been that on other occasions a reference to particular dogmas of the church, and even to the history of particular saints, may have been demanded; but in the sanctuary of the Christian hierarchy, the most appropriate subjects were obviously such as had reference to the scheme of revealed religion as a whole. That this scheme should be expressed in accordance with some superstitions of the age was perfectly natural. The painters who preceded Michael Angelo in the decoration of the chapel had conceived, it is true, a grand cycle in the parallel between the Old and New Law, represented by the acts of Moses and Christ, but their plan seems to have been already exhausted in the space they covered. On the other hand, Michael Angelo's superior learning need not be adduced to account for his adoption of the cycle he selected:—the works which may have suggested it were accessible and familiar to all. Heinecken remarks that MSS. of the Speculum Salvationis appear to have existed in every Benedictine convent; the earliest he saw, was, he supposes, of the 12th century.

The general order observed in these peculiar interpretations of Scripture was, as we have seen, closely followed, but in the selection of some subjects, as in the general treatment of all the designs in the chapel, Michael Angelo was probably influenced by the desire of displaying the human figure. Every subject he has introduced had, however, in the interpretations alluded to, its symbolical meaning, and generally demanded as its antitype a New Testament subject below. In the sources above-mentioned the type and antitype

are confronted, and in many instances the allusionsare carefully explained: this is the case in the Speculum Salvationis, and often in illuminated Bibles; that of Philip de Rouvre, duke of Burgundy (14th century), which is preserved in the Royal Library at Paris, is a curious example, and there are several in the British Museum.—Ed.]

[NOTE ON THE FOUR SUBJECTS IN THE ANGLES OF THE CEILING.

These four subjects represent, it is true, remarkable deliverances of the Jewish nation but it is obvious that such themes could only be selected to adorn a papal chapel, on account of their typical meaning, and in order to explain them it is not sufficient to examine them in a spirit which is the result of our own time and creed; it is also necessary to consider them with reference to the faith they illustrate, as received at the period when they were done.

The great argument of the cycles of Scriptural representations, from first to last, was the Fall and the Atonement: to the latter every subject had reference, more or less directly; but it is to be remembered that certain types in the Old Testament were also considered to relate to the Virgin, and sometimes to the Church.

The three subjects in the centre of the ceiling—the Creation of Adam, the Creation of Eve, and the Fall and Expulsion from Paradise—were not unintentionally made so prominent in situation. The Creation of Eve, though occupying one of the smaller compartments, it is to be remarked, forms the central subject of the whole ceiling. It is always made thus important in the cycles of Scriptural types, in allusion to the Messiah being born of the woman alone. The four subjects at the angles—David Beheading Goliath, Judith with the Head of Holofernes, the Punishment of Haman, and the Brazen Serpent—are types of the Redemption; at the same time they are connected, as intermediate symbols, with the subjects of the ceiling. In the Speculum Salvationis (c. 13), the first of these accompanies Christ's victory over Satan in the Temptation, and is thus explained:—"Golias iste gygas superbus figuram tenet Luciferi, David autem Christus est, qui temptationem superbiæ viriliter superavit." In the Biblia Pauperum the same subject typifies the Redeemer overcoming the power of Satan by liberating the saints from the Limbus (pl. 28). The inscription, "Signans te

Christe Golyam conterit iste," appears, like the subject itself, to allude to the prophecy "ipse conteret caput tuum,"—"it shall bruise thy head*." This reading, which is strictly true to the original, occurs in the earliest versions of the Bible; yet in others, also very ancient, the passage is rendered "*ipsa* conteret caput tuum," according to which *the woman herself* bruises her enemy's head. The authorized Vulgate agrees with the latter translation; but if the subject of David and Goliath was intended to refer to the same passage, the conclusion is that both interpretations were recognized in the typical representations of the middle ages. The allusions in the sense of the Roman version are of course unequivocal. In the work first quoted a representation of the Virgin surrounded by the instruments of the passion, is the parallel subject to Judith after having beheaded Holofernes, and is thus described: "Maria per compassionem vicit adversarium nostrum dyabolum: ipsa enim præfigurata per Judith quæ restitit Holoferni. Tunc impletæ sunt in ipsâ olim præmonstratæ figuræ, et quædam prophetica dicta sacræ scripturæ:—'Et tu Sathane insidiaberis calcaneo ejus (Mariæ) homines impugnando; ipsa conteret caput tuum per passionem te superando.'" The same prophecy, here distinctly quoted,—"it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel,"—is the key to the subjects in question, for the two opposite types are as evidently intended to illustrate the concluding words of the same verse: they allude to the permitted and limited power of the evil one, and the ultimate redemption; but still with the same double application to Christ and the Madonna,—the Brazen Serpent surrounded by the suffering Israelites alluding to the former, the Retributive Punishment of Haman †, and Triumph of Esther, to the latter. The type of the Brazen Serpent is probably frequent in MSS. Bibles; in the Biblia Pauperum it accompanies the Crucifixion (pl. 25), with the inscriptions, "Icti curantur serpentem dum speculantur:"—"Eruit a tristi baratro nos passio Christi." The intercession of Esther with Ahasuerus is the type of the intercession of the Virgin; the two subjects appear together in the Speculum Salvationis (c. 39); the

* "And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel."—Gen. iii. 15.

† The circumstance of Haman being represented crucified agrees with Dante's description of the same subject (Purg. c. 17); and appears to be warranted by the original. Compare with Acts, x. 39.

following extract from the description explains their connexion:—"Tunc illa præcipit populum suum ab iniquo Aman defendi. Hester de gente Judæorum paupercula puella fuerat, et eam rex Assuerus pro omnibus eligerat et reginam constituerat. Ita Deus pro omnibus virginibus Mariam elegit—Et per ejus interventionem nostrum hostem condemnavit." The above allusions to the Madonna had been long consecrated in the church of Rome; that others far more recondite and fanciful were also common, may be gathered from the examples adduced and condemned by Erasmus in his "Ecclesiastes."—ED.]

CHAPTER III.

OTHER MASTERS OF FLORENCE.

§ LXIX. Beside Leonardo and Michael Angelo, several other artists were formed in Florence, who, without reaching the depth and sublimity of these two masters, deserve to be ranked near them by great and
1 peculiar qualities. The first of these is Baccio della Porta, who took the name of Fra Bartolommeo when he entered the Dominican convent of S. Marco at Florence (1469–1517). Originally formed in the school of Cosimo Rosselli, he afterwards adopted a style more consonant to his own taste, under the influence probably of the works of Leonardo. As an artist Fra Bartolommeo was characterized by a calm seriousness, unaffected dignity and grace. The religious expression of his holy figures proceeds from a conscious elevation, and is no longer the result of a mere sentimentality, as in the older masters. A mild dignity—the attribute of Leonardo and his school—pervades these figures, and in his Madonnas the expression of holiness is happily

blended with feminine beauty. But the circle in which he moves is limited. Generally speaking, we feel the want of that inward power so essential to the perfection and even conception of grand and elevated subjects. In these he appears sometimes cold and formal, sometimes impetuous and wanting in repose; his colouring is peculiarly soft, especially in the flesh; his drapery is excellent. The use of wooden lay-figures was introduced by him, and was the means of considerably improving the study of drapery. His compositions are generally simple Madonnas, surrounded by Angels, but he renders them imposing by splendid architecture and a skilful disposition of the groups. In these pictures he delights to introduce boy-angels, sometimes seated and playing on instruments, sometimes hovering around the Madonna, bearing her mantle, or the dais of the throne itself. In the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence are two 2
small miniature pictures of Fra Bartolommeo's early time —the Birth and Circumcision of Christ; the composition is particularly pleasing and dignified, the arrangement of the drapery excellent, and the execution extremely delicate. Already, even in these early works, the fine character of the artist's talent is visible, although it was not emphatically developed till a later period. In the 3
year 1500, wounded to the soul by the execution of Savonarola, his most intimate and venerated friend, he entered into a convent, and during four years never touched a pencil. His love of life and Art was reawakened principally through the influence of the youthful Raphael, who arrived in Florence in 1504, and stimulated him to fresh exertions. Among the best

works of Fra Bartolommeo's pencil, now existing, are some simple compositions of the Madonna and Child, often to be met with in galleries (some of the most beautiful are in the Uffizj and Academy at Florence)
4 or altarpieces, with the Madonna and various Saints.
5 A specimen of this latter kind, representing the patron-saints of Florence, is also in the Uffizj. It is a particularly dignified and animated composition (the Madonna is on the lap of St. Anna, who is seated a step lower), but it is only dead-coloured, in chiaroscuro, for, unhappily, the artist died before he could execute it. The best altar-
6 pictures of this kind are in Lucca; the Madonna della Misericordia, in S. Romano, is especially worthy of notice. In this the Madonna sits with gracious mien among a host of pious votaries, whom she protects with her man-
7 tle from the wrath of heaven. The gallery of the Pitti palace at Florence is rich in works by Fra Bartolommeo. The most celebrated is the St. Mark; this picture is highly extolled for its sublimity, but perhaps betrays the
8 deficiency of manly energy before alluded to. Two figures of Prophets, in the tribune of the Uffizj are similar
9 in style, but not so important. Still more beautiful, from its harmonious, solemn dignity, is a S. Vincenzio, brought from the convent of St. Mark to the gallery of the Academy. We do not enumerate all the works of this artist in the galleries of Florence, but we must not omit a very interesting but now much injured fresco which adorns the wall of a chapel in a small court
10 of Sta Maria Nuova. It represents the Last Judgement; and in the Apostles sitting on each side of Christ we are forcibly reminded of Raphael's "Disputa," as well

as of the Last Judgement of Orcagna, in the Campo Santo at Pisa. The draperies of the Apostles are particularly excellent. The works of Fra Bartolommeo are rare out of Tuscany. A Presentation in the Temple, in 11
the royal collection at Vienna, is one of the most important; a careful sketch for it is in the Uffizj at Florence. 12

Mariotto Albertinelli was the friend and fellow scholar of Fra Bartolommeo, and an imitator of his style. A very celebrated picture by him is in the gallery of 13
the Uffizj at Florence, the subject is the Salutation. It contains the two figures of Mary and Elizabeth only, but the arrangement is simple and noble, the drawing excellent, the colouring powerful, and the expression earnest and finely intended, but perhaps in a slight degree constrained. In the Academy at Florence there 14
are also several clever pictures, parts of which are very graceful, by this master. In the Berlin Museum there 15
is an Assumption of the Virgin, the upper part by Fra Bartolommeo, the lower by Mariotto Albertinelli. Among the scholars of Fra Bartolommeo may be mentioned Fra Paolo da Pistoja. In the Royal Gallery of 16
Vienna there is a large altar-picture by him, in the style of his master. He inherited Fra Bartolommeo's drawings, and made use of them for his own pictures. After him the drawings fell into the hands of a Domini- 17
can nun Plautilla Nelli, who also formed her style from them; but she appears as a feeble, sentimental imitator.

§ LXX. The general style of Fra Bartolommeo was 1
followed by a later Florentine artist, Andrea Vanuc-

chi, commonly called Andrea del Sarto *, from his father's trade (1488–1530). In the works of this painter there is, however, less of the religious seriousness of the elder master, less of his sincerity in the treatment of holy subjects. The pictures of Andrea, on the contrary, are generally characterized by a mere amiable cheerfulness, a childlike innocent gaiety. Neither has this artist a rich fancy, as is proved by his historical pictures, but his numerous Madonnas are always pleasing when in his own peculiar style, and so long as his fine execution does not degenerate to empty mannerism. Originally Andrea was of the school of Pietro di Cosimo, and preserved some of the peculiarities of his master, particularly in his small pictures with landscape backgrounds. He soon, however, became independent; his style, at first youthfully constrained and severe, was at a later period peculiarly soft and delicate in the modelling of the forms.

2 Among the earliest of Andrea's works are the freseos which he executed in the court of the Compagnia dello Scalzo at Florence †. All the paintings now remaining are in chiaroscuro, and with the exception of some allegorical figures represent the history of St. John the Baptist. Those first painted were the Baptism of Christ, the Preaching of John, and the Baptism of the People. With the dry angular manner of the old school

* Bindi: Notizie inedite della Vita d'Andrea del Sarto, raccolte da manoscritti e documenti autentici; Firenze, 1830.—Andrea del Sarto: von Alfred Reumont; Leipzig, 1835.

† Pitture a Fresco di Andrea del Sarto; Firenze, 1823.

these already unite pleasing, correct drawing and dignity of character. The rest of these pictures belong to a later period of the artist's practice, and are of unequal merit; the last executed—the Birth of John—is however very excellent; it is a simple, effective composition, with very beautiful figures. Although these paintings have suffered they can yet be tolerably well made out. In consequence of the celebrity of these 3
first-mentioned frescos a similar work was entrusted to Andrea in the court of the SS. Annunziata at Florence. Alessio Baldovinetti had already begun the subject of the Nativity, and Cosimo Rosselli had also painted a compartment. Andrea commenced with the History of S. Filippo Benozzi, which he completed in five large, coloured pictures. These are among the most beautiful of his productions; they are in some parts very simple and severe in execution, but have an expression of sterling dignity, which is rarely found in his other works. One of their peculiar features is the beautiful landscape backgrounds. The fourth picture is particularly remarkable, both as regards its composition and the lively interest with which the story is told; it represents the Death of the Saint, and a Boy Restored to Life. The fifth excels in the harmony of its light and shade and colouring; the subject is Children Healed by touching the garment of the Saint. Sometime after Andrea painted in the same court the 4
Birth of the Virgin, also an excellent work, and an Adoration of the Kings, with numerous figures. Another 5
painting by him, in the great court of the same convent (in the lunette over the entrance), is of a considerably later period (1525); it is known by the name of the Ma-

donna del Sacco,—a simple Holy Family, in which Joseph is represented leaning on a sack. This is one of the artist's most celebrated works: the forms are grand, the composition has an agreeable repose, and the drapery is masterly.

6 Before we pass to Andrea's easel-pictures another important fresco must be mentioned, in the refectory of the convent of S. Salvi, near Florence, of the year 1526–7. It represents the Last Supper, with the usual arrangement of the figures; it resembles, for instance, Leonardo da Vinci's composition, but is not to be compared with that work in the profound conception of the subject. The division of the groups is peculiar; the single figures are finely characterized.

The easel pictures of Andrea are very numerous: their subjects are principally confined to the simple circle of Madonnas, Holy Families, and similar altarpieces; in these his peculiar qualities are most freely developed. Pictures of this kind, belonging to his early time, are 7 very rare. One, which he painted for the convent of S. Gallo, and which is now in the Pitti palace, shews a finer and deeper earnestness than we usually find in him; it is an Annunciation, and reminds us in some respects of Francia. In other pictures—in one, for example, 8 of the same subject, in the same place (No. 27), the influence of Michael Angelo is visible—an influence which can hardly be said to have operated favourably on the 9 style of Andrea. The most beautiful example of this artist's own manner is the Madonna di S. Francesco, in the tribune of the Uffizj at Florence. The Madonna with the Child stands on a low altar, supported by two boy-

angels; St. Francis and St. John the Evangelist stand beside her: the expression of both the saints is bland and dignified. Beside these there is a considerable number of 10
Andrea's works, all more or less excellent, in the Florentine galleries, especially in that of the Palazzo Pitti.

In the year 1518 Andrea was invited into France by 11
Francis I., a great lover of Art; for him and the great men of his court the artist executed a number of pictures: many of them still adorn the gallery of the Louvre. He was well received, and his remuneration was such as he could never have expected in Florence. Yet he was induced to leave France in the following year, under some pretext, by the importunities of his capricious and tyrannical wife; and even to embezzle the sums entrusted to him by the king for the purchase of works of Art in Italy. He afterwards deeply repented his folly, but never regained the favour of the king. His conduct drew upon him many reproaches even in his native place, and the consciousness of disgrace certainly had a repressing influence on the free exercise of his talent. Andrea's pictures are frequent in other galleries beside those of Florence and Paris; many are in the Roman collections,—for example, in the Borghese 12
palace. Some very excellent specimens are in Munich, 13
Vienna, Berlin and Dresden. But it is by no means to be supposed that all the works which bear his name are genuine. One of his last and most celebrated pictures 14
is in Dresden—the Sacrifice of Abraham,—done in 1529.

Marc' Antonio Franciabigio, the friend and companion of Andrea, resembles him in manner, although

15 he never reached his *naïvetè* and freedom. He painted two pictures in the court of the Scalzo, next to Andrea's, —John receiving the blessing of his Parents before he goes into the Wilderness, and his First Meeting with
16 the youthful Christ. In the court of the SS. Annunziata he painted the Marriage of the Virgin. In all these works he appears a successful imitator of his friend. The monks uncovered this last work before it was finished, which so enraged the artist that he gave the head of the Virgin some blows with a hammer, and was with difficulty prevented from destroying the whole. The traces of these blows remain, for neither Franciabigio nor any other artist would repair the injury. In his easel pictures he is seldom important.

Jacopo Carucci, commonly called Pontormo, from his native city, was a scholar of Andrea: his talents strongly excited the jealousy of his master, who forced him by
17 injurious treatment to leave his studio. In the court of the SS. Annunziata, Jacopo painted the Salutation, or Visit of Mary to Elizabeth; it has great grandeur in the
18 forms. In the Uffizj there is an excellent portrait by him
19 of Cosmo de' Medici, vivid and warm in colour. There are excellent portraits by this artist elsewhere,—for ex-
20 ample, in the Berlin Museum. Two other scholars of Andrea are not to be forgotten, Jacone and Domenico Puligo, who frequently took a part in the works of their master. The pictures of Domenico, particularly his numerous Holy Families, are so much in the manner of Andrea as to be frequently mistaken for that artist's works.

1 § LXXI. The Florentine, Il Rosso, was also employed

in the court of the SS. Annunziata with Andrea and the above-named artists. He painted in it an Assumption of the Virgin, an animated and solemn picture, less noble and less clear in composition, however, than the other frescos of this place, and not without some indication of mannerism. A certain fantastic manner, peculiar to this artist, distinguishes him from the rest of the Florentines. Il Rosso lived in France, during the most 2
active period of his life in the service of Francis I., for whom he superintended the embellishments of the palace of Fontainebleau.

Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, the son of Domenico Ghirlan- 3
dajo, was an artist of extraordinary talent; he passed from the school of his father and uncle (David Ghirlandajo) into that of Fra Bartolommeo, and there formed a beautiful manner of his own. When Raphael arrived in Florence, in 1504, Ridolfo cultivated a close friendship with him. At a later period Raphael urged him to take a part in his great works in the Vatican, but Ridolfo did not accede to this request. Two of his paint- 4
ings in the Uffizj at Florence show how nearly at this time he kept pace with the aspiring talents of Raphael. In one, St. Zenobius raises a dead boy to Life, in the other, the Corpse of the Saint is borne to the Duomo of Florence; they are extremely well painted, the heads especially are worthy of all praise. Alas! he afterwards deserted this honourable path, and from an artist became a mere mechanical painter. With Raffaellino del Garbo (1476–1524), a scholar of Filippino Lippi, we close the series of the Florentine artists of this period. In this painter's earlier works there is a peculiar

amiableness: he has a tenderness of feeling which nearly resembles Lorenzo di Credi, but it is expressed still more elegantly. The Berlin Museum possesses five paintings of Raffaellino, among which, two large altar-pieces, and above all, a Madonna and Child with two Angels, are very remarkable for these qualities. This artist at a later period followed the modern direction, in which M. Angelo and Raphael had led the way; but his attempts in it were not successful. Some of his later works are to be seen on the ceiling of the chapel of St. Thomas Aquinas, in Sta Maria sopra Minerva at Rome. The walls are painted by his master Filippino Lippi.

CHAPTER IV.

RAPHAEL.

§ LXXII. We now come to an artist who again belongs to the greatest of modern times—to Raphael Sanzio of Urbino*. According to Vasari he was born on

* Very copious literary materials. The most important original works beside the articles in Vasari's Biography, are:—Angelo Comolli: Vita inedita di Raffaello da Urbino, illustr. con note, Roma, 1790; 2nd edit. 1791.—Carlo Fea: Notizie Intorno Raff. Sanzio da Ur. ed alcune di lui opere ec., Roma, 1822.—L. Pungileone: Elogio storico di Raff°. Santi da Urbino, Urb. 1829.—Quatremère de Quincy: Hist. de la vie et des ouvrages de Raph^l^., Paris, 1824; 2nd edition, 1833:—translated into Italian with important notes: Istoria della vita e delle opere di Rafaello Sanzio da Urbino, del S. Quatremère, etc.; voltata in Italiano, corretta, illustrata ed ampliata per

Good Friday, March 28th, 1483, and died on Good Friday, April 6th, 1520. His epitaph, however, states that he died on his birthday, which, according to other accounts, also was April 6th, 1483. It would be difficult to describe Raphael's character in more appropriate words than those with which Vasari concludes his biography: "O happy and blessed spirit! every one speaks with interest of thee; celebrates thy deeds; admires thee in thy works! Well might painting die when this noble artist ceased to live; for when his eyes were closed she remained in darkness. For us who survive him it remains to imitate the good, nay excellent method, which he has left us for our guidance; and as his great qualities deserve, and our duty bids us, to cherish his memory in our hearts, and keep it alive in our discourse by speaking of him with the high respect which is his due. For in fact through him we have the art in all its

cura di Francesco Longhena, Milano, 1829:—hitherto the most important work on the subject. [Passavant's Rafael von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi has appeared since: Leipzig, 1839.—Ed.] —Rafael als Mensch und Künstler, von G. K. Nagler; München, 1836:—a compilation.

Further: Italienische Forschungen von C. F. von Rumohr; dritter band.—Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, etc.—Passavant: Kunstreise durch England und Belgien:—etc.

Outlines in Landons' Vies et œuvres, etc.; t. Raphael:—a great number, but unfortunately not chosen with sufficient discrimination.—Bonnemaison: Suite d'études calquées et dessinées d'après cinq tableaux de Raphael; Paris, 1818. Very useful as studies:—etc.

Catalogues of the Engravings after Raphael's works:—Nachrichten von Künstlern und Künstsachen; band ii., Leipzig, 1769, p. 315; etc.—Catalogue des Estampes gravées d'après Rafael: par Tauriscus Eubœus (the Arcadian designation of Count Lepel); Francfort sur le M.; etc. 1819.

extent, colouring and invention, carried to a perfection which could hardly have been looked for; and in this universality let no human being ever hope to surpass him. And, beside this benefit which he conferred on Art as her true friend, he neglected not to show us how every man should conduct himself in all the relations of life. Among his rare gifts, there was one which especially excites my wonder:—I mean, that heaven should have granted him to infuse a spirit among those who lived around him so contrary to that which is prevalent among professional men. The painters—I do not allude to the humble-minded only, but to those of an ambitious turn, and many of this sort there are—the painters who worked in company with Raphael lived in perfect harmony, as if all bad feelings were extinguished in his presence and every base, unworthy thought had passed from their minds. This friendly state of things was never so remarkable as in Raphael's time; it was because the artists were at once subdued by his obliging manners and by his surpassing merit, but more than all by the spell of his natural character, which was so benevolent, so full of affectionate kindness, that not only men, but even the very brutes respected him. It is said that if any painter of his acquaintance, or even any stranger, asked him for a drawing which could be of use to him, Raphael would leave his work to assist him. He always had a great number of artists employed for him, helping them and teaching them with the kindness of a father to his children rather than as a master directing his scholars. For which reason it was observed he never went to court without being accom-

panied from his very door by perhaps fifty painters, all clever in their way, who had a pleasure in thus attending him to do him honour. In short he lived as a sovereign rather than as a painter. And thus, O Art of Painting! thou too couldst then account thyself most happy, since an artist was thine, who, by his skill and by his moral excellence, exalted thee to the highest heaven!"

Although we cannot here enter into the consideration 2
of the extravagant and partial appreciation of Raphael*, implied in this passage, so evidently to the disadvantage of all other artists, but which is quite in accordance with the spirit of the present age, we must acknowledge that in this description we find the essential points which form the groundwork of Raphael's art. Vasari paints him as a magician, whose presence diffuses joy and happiness, makes the marvellous possible, and effects the closest union between the most opposite minds. This magic power is the spirit of beauty, which filled his whole being and shines through all his creations. A beautiful and harmonious development of form is his first aim, but not in the restrictive sense in which it was studied by the masters of the fifteenth century. In Raphael, beauty of form is the expression of elevation of mind, of utmost purity of soul. In Leonardo da Vinci, the

* The greatness of Raphael, compared with other artists, is not so much in kind as in degree. No master has left so many really excellent works as he whose days were so early numbered; in none has there been observed so little that is unpleasing. His pure and noble character again places him in the first rank among artists. But this should not prevent us from admitting the successful efforts and high original qualities of other masters.

chief aim appears to have been a characteristic and thorough expression of the theme he had to treat; in Michael Angelo, we remark a peculiar, grand, *subjective* mode of conception: in both, beauty of form is to be considered as a secondary element:—it is the reverse in Raphael. This tendency may be distinctly observed in some of his works, where the subjects prescribed to him were perhaps less suited to the tendency of his mind; in these, detached parts are often more attractive than the whole, and the accessory figures, represented with all the truth of nature, excite a stronger interest than the principal subject of the picture.

3 Like most of the great artists of the time, Raphael's activity was not confined to a single department: in the history of Art, he also fills an important place as an architect, and had begun important researches into the architectural remains of Roman antiquity. But all his other qualities were eclipsed by his predominant talent for painting, and it is more especially in this art, that we find the development of his powers aided in the happiest manner by the circumstances in which he was placed. We shall trace this peculiar progress in its most important steps.

§ LXXIII. Raphael was the son of Giovanni Sanzio, or De' Santi, of Urbino (who has been mentioned among the painters allied to the Umbrian school). He received his first education as an artist from his father, whom, however, he appears to have lost early. It seems that he formed his style among the other masters of the neighbourhood, and afterwards entered the school of Pietro

Perugino, at Perugia, where he remained till about his twentieth year. Of the works painted by Raphael before he entered this school we know nothing with certainty. At Urbino a Madonna is ascribed to him, said 1
to have been painted on the court-wall of his father's dwelling: it is now preserved in a room of the same house. A round picture of a Holy Family, also attri- 2
buted to him, is in the sacristy of S. Andrea*. The first traces of Raphael's exertions in the school of Perugino are supposed to be observable in some pictures of this master, who employed his gifted scholar as an assistant in the execution of the frescos of the Sala del Cambio 3
at Perugia†, and also in several easel-pictures. Among the latter is a beautiful altar-picture, formerly in the 4
Certosa at Pavia, now in the palace of the Duca Melzi at Milan; one of the side panels in particular, representing an Angel with Tobias, is of surpassing beauty. Various 5
easel-pictures are ascribed, with more or less certainty, to Raphael alone, during this time. They bear the general stamp of the Umbrian school, but in its highest beauty. The tender, enthusiastic sentimentality which

* [The first of the above-named pictures, representing a Madonna and Sleeping Child, is a work by Giovanni Santi, much repainted. It is, however, interesting, from the great probability that the composition was taken directly from nature, and that the artist's wife Magia Ciarla and their only surviving son, Raphael, were the originals. The circular picture in S. Andrea is partly copied, by an unknown hand, from one of Raphael's latest works—the Holy Family, now in the Louvre, painted for Francis I. See Passavant: Rafael von Urbino, i. 41, 42.—ED.]

† [The portion in which Raphael is supposed to have taken a part are the figures of the Prophets and Sibyls (see Rumohr: It. Forsch. iii. 36).—ED.]

is the general characteristic of this school, may be said to harmonize well with the character of generous youth. So long as works of Art done under such an influence seem to breathe the fresh aspirations of the youthful mind, they must of necessity appear true and pure; but when, at an advanced period of life, this sentiment and aspiration are not ripened into depth of character and energetic decision, then does this youthful tenderness, as we have before remarked in the instance of the Umbrian masters, necessarily degenerate into constraint, and become mere manner and mechanism. The foundation of a noble manhood, undeveloped as it is in the early works of Raphael, is nevertheless apparent in his pure and clear conceptions; his youthful efforts are essentially youthful, and seem to contain the earnest of a high development. This it is which invests his early productions with so peculiar and great an interest. A few may be mentioned which are tolerably well authenticated. First:—some Madonnas: two
6 are in the Berlin Museum. In the one, the Madonna reads in a book; the Child on her lap holds a goldfinch in his hand. The attitude of the mother is unaffected and simple; the perfectly oval countenance has an expression of peace and repose—not free, however, from constraint: the child is not beautiful; the forms are as yet awkwardly rendered; the attitude is affected. A
7 second, with heads of St. Francis and St. Jerome introduced below the Virgin, is better. Here, the countenance of the Madonna, who turns affectionately to the Child with an expression of the deepest, most fervent feeling, is equally tender and gentle as in the other pic-

ture, and is free from its defects; the figure of the child is better drawn: the heads of the two saints are very excellent, with a character of gentleness and piety. The general arrangement is agreeably and judiciously contrived, and the picture is executed with great softness and warmth. Similar to it, but much more finished, 8
is a small round picture of the Madonna in the Casa Connestabile at Perugia. The Virgin (a half-figure) stands in a landscape, reading, while the Child in her arms also looks into the book. The head of the Virgin indicates a progressive development of the freest, finest kind; the child, too, is lovely. It is a miniature painting of inexpressibly delicate and beautiful execution.

Next to these, a large altar-picture may be mentioned 9
(an Adoration of the Kings), which has passed from the Ancajani family of Spoleto to the Berlin Museum. The general *motives* of this rich composition resemble the Umbrian school, in the treatment of similar subjects; the same resemblance is observable in the attitudes of the figures, and in the management of the drapery; but the heads are remarkable for a peculiar refinement, and the forms have great purity and delicacy. The Child lies on a coverlet on the ground, in the middle of the picture. Infantine loveliness is pleasingly developed in its form. On one side, where the stall is, the mother reverentially kneels, and next to her, two beautiful angels, like attendants, kneel likewise; St. Joseph stands behind her. On the other side the kings approach with a numerous retinue; the first, dignified and serious, is already kneeling down: the vivacity of youth expressed in the head of the

youngest king is very interesting: three graceful angels, borne on clouds, are singing above these groups. A rich arabesque frame encloses the whole: in the upper corners are represented two sibyls; in the lower, two saints. This picture is painted in distemper (*al guazzo*), on canvass, and has, alas! suffered so much from damp that the colours are not only faded, but in some parts have fallen off*, leaving the well-felt preparatory outline visible. A
10 picture very similar to this in composition is in the gallery of the Vatican. The Virgin kneels on one side of the Infant, Joseph on the other; in the middle distance are the shepherds; in the background the kings advance to worship. The picture appears, however, to have come from the studio of Perugino, for though we recognize the hand of Raphael in some parts, in others that of Lo Spagna and other less important artists is visible †.

After these works Raphael appears to have quitted the school of Perugino and to have commenced an independent career: he executed at this time some pictures in the neighbouring town of Città di Castello. With all the features of the Umbrian school, they already show the freer impulse of his own mind,—a decided effort to individualize. The most excellent of these, and the most interesting example of this first period of Ra-
11 phael's development, is the Marriage of the Virgin (Lo Sposalizio), inscribed with his name, and the date 1504, and at present in the Brera at Milan. The arrange-

* Dr. Waagen: Uber das Gemalde Raphaels aus dem Hause Ancajani, in der Zeitschrift:—Museum; Blätter für bildende Kunst, 1834, No. 18, etc.

† [The head of Joseph is probably by Raphael.—ED.]

ment is simple and beautiful:—Mary and Joseph stand opposite to each other in the centre; the high priest, between them, joins their hands; Joseph is in the act of placing the ring on the finger of the bride: beside Mary is a group of the virgins of the Temple; near Joseph are the suitors, who break their barren wands,—that which Joseph holds in his hand has blossomed into a lily, which, according to the legend, was the sign that he was the chosen one*. In the background is the lofty Temple, adorned with a peristyle†. With much of the stiffness and constraint of the old school, the figures are noble and dignified; the countenances, of the sweetest style of beauty, are expressive of a tender, enthusiastic melancholy, which lends a peculiar charm to this subject, inappropriate as it is in more animated representations. Among other works, Raphael also painted the 12
beautiful Crucifixion, now in the gallery of Cardinal Fesch at Rome, for the church of S. Domenico at Città di Castello.

Another important picture of this time, which shows 13
the progress of the young artist, is the Coronation of the Virgin, painted for the church of S. Francesco at Perugia, but now in the Vatican. In the upper part, Christ and the Madonna are throned on clouds and surrounded by angels with musical instru-

* [See the Flos Sanctorum and Evang. Mariæ.—Ed.]

† [This beautiful architectural design, it appears, was copied (but very much improved) from a picture of the same subject by Perugino, now said to be in France (at Caen). The general form and proportions were probably suggested in the first instance by the round temple in Fra Francesco Colonna's celebrated work, the Hypnerotomachia, which was dedicated to Guidubaldo, Duke of Urbino, at the close of the fifteenth century.—Ed.]

ments; underneath, the Disciples stand around the empty tomb. In this lower part of the picture there is a very evident attempt to give the figures more life, motion, and enthusiastic expression, than was before attempted in the school; an effort which, owing to the want of complete practical mastery, has occasioned several failures and not a little mannerism, though unquestionably with some beautiful exceptions. The Christ, in expression at least, is unsuccessful; but the head, figure, and mien of
14 the Virgin are modest and beautiful. The predella was adorned with elegant miniature-like pictures of the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Kings, and the Presentation in the Temple: they are in the same gallery.

15 The works of Raphael, in conjunction with Pinturicchio, in the Libreria of the Duomo at Siena, also belong to this period (§ LVIII. 6). But his participation in this undertaking appears to have been limited to some designs: two beautiful drawings by him for these sub-
16 jects are still preserved; one is in the Uffizj at Florence;
17 the other in the Casa Baldeschi at Perugia. They are greatly superior in delicacy of feeling, grace, and freedom to the paintings in the Libreria; thus proving that Raphael could have had no share in the execution of the latter.

1 § LXXIV. In the autumn of the year 1504 Raphael proceeded to Florence. Tuscan Art had at this period attained its highest perfection, and the most celebrated artists were contending for the palm. New examples were offered to the aspiring spirit of youth, and pointed out the path to excellence. A new æra now commences in Raphael's development: from this period begins his

emancipation from the confined manner of Perugino's school; the youth now ripened into independent manhood, and acquired the free mastery of form. If the earlier works of Raphael are the expression of his own mild spirit, the greater part of those which immediately follow are characterized by an unconstrained and cheerful conception of life *.

Raphael's first visit to Florence must have been but of short duration, for in the succeeding year we find him employed on several large works in Perugia; these show for the first time the influence of the Florentine Art in the purity, fulness, and intelligent treatment of form; at the same time many of the *motives* of the Peruginesque school are still apparent. The first of these 2 works which claims our notice was that executed for the convent of S. Antonio of Padua, at Perugia, once in the possession of the Colonna family at Rome, now in the royal palace at Naples †. It represents the Madonna and Child on a throne, in a heavy style of architecture, adorned with a canopy. On the steps of the throne the little St. John worships the infant Christ, who blesses him, while the Virgin gently draws him nearer. The infant Christ, at the request of the sisterhood, is clothed in a little shirt. On the sides are St. Peter, St. Catherine, St. Paul, and St. Dorothea ‡. In the lunette

* The influence of the cartoons by Leonardo and Michael Angelo is alluded to at § 63, 24.—On Raphael's relation to Fra Bartolommeo, see § 69. 3; to Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, § 71. 3.

† Rumohr assigns a somewhat earlier date to this picture. Ital. Forsch. iii. 32.

‡ [According to Passavant, St. Rosalia. Both are generally crowned with roses, but St. Dorothea has sometimes a sword and St. Rosalia is usually dressed as a nun.—ED.]

over the picture is God the Father—a half-figure, with two adoring angels, one on each side. The draperies, in this picture, particularly in the powerful figures of the apostles, are already more free and broad: the heads of the men are dignified, those of the women tender and earnest, particularly that of St. Catherine, which is full of grace: the two children are beautifully artless. The
3 small subjects of the predella are now dispersed. Christ on the Mount of Olives, and the Bearing of the Cross,
4 are in England; the Dead Body of Christ mourned by his Disciples and the Marys is in the possession of Count Rechberg in Munich *.

Two other pictures are inscribed with the date 1505:
5 one an altarpiece for the church of the Serviti at Perugia, now at Blenheim-castle, the seat of the Duke of Marlborough. It represents the Madonna and Child on a throne, with St. John the Baptist and St Nicholas of Bari—a picture of surpassing beauty and dignity. The
6 centre picture of the predella—the Preaching of St. John the Baptist—is at Bowood, the seat of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

7 The second is a fresco of some size in the lunette of a chapel in S. Severo at Perugia. Christ is in the centre, with the dove of the Holy Spirit above and two youthful angels beside him. Over the group is God the Father, with two angels: this part of the picture is

* [The subject of Christ on the Mount of Olives is in the collection of Mr. Samuel Rogers, and that of the Saviour bearing the Cross belongs to Mr. Miles of Leigh Court. The Dead Christ passed from the possession of Count Rechberg to that of Sir Thomas Lawrence, and then became the property of Mr. Whyte, of Barron Hill. Two single figures in the predella, St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua, are in the Dulwich Gallery.—ED.]

much injured. On each side of the middle group, and somewhat lower, are three saints, seated. It is a very grand composition, and reminds us, on the one hand, of Fra Bartolommeo's now ruined fresco in Sta Maria Nuova at Florence, as well as of older paintings, and on the other it may be considered as the original of the upper portion of Raphael's own celebrated 'Disputa' in the Vatican*. The figures of the saints are very dignified: the Christ is beautiful, and with a mild expression; and the angels—at least the one on the left of the Saviour, folding his hands on his breast—most interesting and graceful. The drapery, although still severe, is well executed in grand lines and masses. The painting has unfortunately suffered materially, and the upper group is almost entirely destroyed. Under it is a niche, on each side of which are three saints, painted by Perugino in 1521.

After finishing these works Raphael appears to have returned to Florence, where he remained (with the exception of some visits to Urbino and Perugia†) until the middle of the year 1508. The early paintings executed during this period betray, as might be expected, many reminiscences of the Peruginesque school, both in conception and execution; the later ones follow in all essential respects the general style of the Florentines of this time.

One of the earliest of these is the Holy Family with 8
the Palm-tree, formerly in the Orleans collection, and

* [The subject of Theology, painted by Raphael in the Vatican, and generally called the 'Disputa (del Sacramento)'.—Ed.]

† [And perhaps Bologna: see Passavant, i. 95.—Ed.]

now in the gallery of Lord Francis Egerton, in London. It is a round picture: the Madonna sits under a fan palm, holding the infant Christ on her lap; Joseph kneeling presents flowers to him. This last figure is either by an inferior hand or has been entirely painted over.

9 To this picture may be added the Virgin in the Meadow, in the Belvedere gallery at Vienna. The Madonna is here represented in a beautiful landscape, and with both hands supports the infant Christ, who stands before her: she turns with looks of love to the little St. John, who kneeling at the side offers a reed cross to his companion :—a graceful and pleasing picture, to which the
10 two following stand in close relation. One is the Madonna del Cardellino, in the tribune of the Uffizj at Florence: here the little St. John presents a goldfinch to the infant Christ; hence the name of the picture. The form and countenance of the Madonna are of the purest beauty; her whole soul seems to breathe holiness and peace. John also is extremely sweet; but the figure of the infant Christ does not fulfil the artist's intention, which appears to have been to represent the seriousness and dignity of a divine being in a childlike form; both the figure and expression are rather stiff and affected.
11 The third of these pictures is the so-named Belle Jardinière, in the gallery of the Louvre. It belongs to the latter part of Raphael's residence in Florence. In composition it certainly resembles the two last-mentioned, but all that was unsatisfactory and incomplete in them has here disappeared. The sweetest cheerfulness, grace and innocence, breathe from this picture. The Ma-

donna sits among flowering shrubs, as in a garden (whence, perhaps, the name of the picture); Christ stands at her knee, while St. John kneels in childlike devotion. A repetition of this picture is in the Gallery of 12
Versailles: it is doubtful which is the original *.

It is interesting to observe Raphael's progress in the small pictures which he painted in Florence—half-figures of the Madonna with the Child in her arms. In this instance, again, the earliest of the series are characterized by the deepest, tenderest feeling, while a freer and more cheerful enjoyment of life is apparent in the later ones. The Madonna del Gran Duca, in the possession of the 13
Grand Duke of Tuscany, is the first of this series. Here the Madonna holds the naked infant tranquilly in her arms, and looks down in deep thought. Next, the Ma- 14
donna of the Casa Tempi of Florence, now in the possession of the King of Bavaria. In this picture the Virgin presses the Child, who nestles closely to her, with fervent tenderness, and appears to whisper to him gentle words of love. In both pictures the Madonna is represented standing: in the three following she is sitting. In one, the infant Christ looks out of the picture; he sits on the Madonna's lap and holds by the bosom of her dress. The most simple of these is a small picture ori- 15
ginally in the Orleans gallery, and which was some years ago in the possession of M. Neuwenhuys, of London. In the highly-executed but very spirited picture 16
from the Colonna palace at Rome, and now in the Ber-

* [The author probably means the picture said to have belonged to Cardinal Mazarin, and now, or lately, for sale in this country. It has the reputation of being a good copy, but nothing more.—ED.]

lin Museum, the same childlike sportiveness, the same maternal tenderness, are developed to a more harmonious
17 refinement. The third, in the possession of Earl Cowper, at Panshanger, and inscribed with the year 1580, borders on mannerism in the forward boyish expression of the Child; the countenance of the Madonna is, however, extremely sweet*.

18 A larger representation of a Holy Family, belonging to the middle of Raphael's Florentine period, is in the Munich gallery. In the composition of this picture we observe a particular study of artificial grouping. On one side of the picture the Madonna, half kneeling, half sitting, leans over toward the other figures; before her is the infant Christ: on the other side is Elizabeth in a similar attitude, and before her the little St. John: behind the women stands Joseph; thus completing the group in a strictly pyramidal form†. Although this disposition appears somewhat formal, and although the picture in other respects betrays an imperfect practice, yet even here there are many beautiful parts, and the playful affection of the children, on whom the parents look down, not without variety of action, at least accounts for a unity of feeling corresponding with the regularity of the arrangement.

19 Another Holy Family, half-figures, in the gallery of the Hermitage at Petersburg—to judge from the

* [Another Madonna and Child, of an earlier date (perhaps 1505), is in the same collection. See Passavant: Rafael von Urbino, ii. 37.—ED.]

† [This extreme regularity may have been less perceptible before two groups of infant angels' heads, in the upper part of the picture, were removed after having been spoiled by an inexpert restorer.—ED.]

engraving—also appears to belong to this period. There is an evident leaning toward the direct imitation which characterized the *naturalisti** in the head of St. Joseph looking down on the Child, which is no longer observable in the later works of Raphael, and may probably be ascribed to the influence of his friend Fra Bartolommeo.

One of the best pictures of the latter part of this Flo- 20
rentine period is the St. Catherine in the possession of Mr. Beckford†, formerly in the Aldobrandini gallery at Rome. The saint, a half-figure, stands leaning on the wheel, and looks up with heavenly enthusiasm to the ray of light descending upon her, Few even of the great masters have succeeded in giving this expression with so much truth, life and interest.

Beside these pictures, intended more for the purpose of domestic devotion, Raphael executed two large altar-pictures at Florence. One is the Madonna di 21
Pescia, or, del Baldacchino, in the Palazzo Pitti at Florence. The Madonna and Child are on a throne; on one side stand St. Peter and St. Bruno, on the other, St. Anthony and St. Augustine; at the foot of the throne two boy-angels hold a strip of parchment with musical notes inscribed on it; over the throne is a canopy (*baldacchino*), the curtains of which are held by two flying angels. The picture is not deficient in the solemn majesty suited to a church subject; the drapery of the

* [The term *naturalisti* is applied by Italian, and *naturalistas* by Spanish writers on Art, to painters of various schools, who imitated nature without sufficient selection.—ED.]

† [Now in the National Gallery.—ED.]

saints, particularly that of St. Bruno, is very grand; in other respects, however, the taste of the *naturalisti* prevails, and the heads are in general devoid of nobleness and real dignity. In the colour of the flesh the picture forcibly reminds us of Fra Bartolommeo. Raphael left it unfinished in Florence; it was completed by a later and inferior artist.

22 The second altar-picture, the Entombment of Christ, painted for the church of S. Francesco at Perugia, is now in the Borghese gallery at Rome. The picture is divided into two groups: on the left, the body of the Saviour is borne to the grave by two men, with great energy of action. Next to the body are Mary Magdalene, Peter and John, variously expressing the deepest sympathy. On the right, supported by women, the Madonna sinks down fainting. This is the first of Raphael's compositions in which an historical subject is dramatically developed; but as regards this aim, the task exceeded the powers of the youthful master. The composition wants repose and unity of effect; the movements are frequently exaggerated and mannered. The evidence of emotion, which in single heads is powerfully expressed, does not in all appear to be the immediate ebullition of feeling*. But the body of the Saviour is extremely beautiful; the noble and harmonious forms,

* [Rumohr (Ital. Forsch. iii. 70) also appears dissatisfied with this picture. Its imperfections, if any must be admitted, are to be attributed partly to the subject, which, as the author observes, was new to the great artist, and cost him unusual efforts, as is apparent from the great number of drawings and studies for the picture still remaining. Raphael was twenty-four years of age when it was done.—ED.]

the expression of a sublime sorrow in the head falling back, place this figure among the greatest master-works. The execution of the picture is beautiful but severe. The subjects of the predella are in the gallery of the 23
Vatican. They are small chiaroscuro pictures of Faith, Hope and Charity, in circular medallions, with *genii* at their side—graceful, pleasing compositions, light and spirited in execution.

Three pleasing little pictures belonging to this period are still to be mentioned: two of these (one in the gal- 24
lery of the Louvre, the other in the Hermitage at Petersburg*) represent St. George and the Dragon; the third (also in the Louvre) is the archangel Michael clad 25
in armour and brandishing his sword over the dragon. They are all light, bold and graceful in execution, and are conceived in a taste now designated by the epithet *romantic*.

We close the series belonging to this period with a few portraits.—Raphael's own likeness, in the col- 26
lection of the portraits of artists painted by themselves, in the Uffizj at Florence, is beautiful, simple and mild—the mirror of the pure mind from which emanated his earlier works.—The portraits of Angelo 27
Doni, a Florentine amateur, and his wife, in the Pitti palace at Florence, are natural in conception, but rather hard and cold in execution. These two pictures,

* [This picture was sent as a present from Guidubaldo, Duke of Urbino, to Henry VII. of England. It probably left this country when the collection of Charles I. was dispersed, and afterwards passed through various hands.—Passavant: Rafael von Urbino, ii. 57.—Ed.]

long lost and sought for, have but lately come to
28 light.—An excellent portrait in the tribune of the Uffizj,
at all events worthy of Raphael, bore the name of Mad-
29 dalena Doni before these were found.—Two profile-
heads of monks, in the Florentine Academy, are ad-
mirably painted; and, though severe, are full of feeling.

THE STANZE OF THE VATICAN.

1 § LXXV. About the middle of the year 1508 Raphael, then in his twenty-fifth year, was invited to the court of Pope Julius the Second, in order to decorate the state apartments of the papal residence in the Vatican with the works of his pencil. Those already begun by earlier masters were destroyed, to give sufficient space to the greater artist*. A few only of the works of Razzi, of whom we shall speak hereafter, and of Perugino, were allowed to remain. With these works commences the third period of Raphael's development. In these he reached the highest perfection. The subjects, more important than any in which he had hitherto been occupied, gave him the full consciousness of his powers; the proximity of Michael Angelo, who at this time began the paintings of the Sistine Chapel, animated him with noble emulation; the world of classical antiquity, which in Rome more than in any place invites observation, gave the noblest direction to his mind. The extensive and numerous works in which he was engaged obliged him at once to collect a great number of artists to take

* [They were destroyed in consequence of the impression produced on the Pope by Raphael's first frescos. See Vasari: Vita di Raff.—Ed.]

part in these labours under his direction, and it was their endeavour to make the style of their master their own.

At the period in question, shortly before the struggle 2
of the German Reformation, the papal power had reached its proudest elevation: it had gained an extension of territory and an increase of warlike resources more considerable than at any former period; while its spiritual influence over the nations of Christendom was incalculable. To glorify this power—to represent Rome as the centre of spiritual culture—were the objects of the paintings in the Vatican. They cover the ceilings and walls of three chambers and a large saloon, which now bear the name of the 'Stanze of Raphael.' They are all executed in fresco*: those on the arched ceilings of the three chambers are variously arranged; but each wall in these rooms is covered with one large picture, the upper part of which is semicircular, corresponding with the form of the ceiling: the dado throughout is painted in chiaroscuro, the subjects alluding to those of the principal frescos, which again refer to the immediately corresponding ones on the ceiling. The space on two walls of each chamber is broken by a window, which compelled the artist to a peculiar arrangement. At a later period, when the Popes had taken up their residence in the Quirinal palace, the Stanze were neglected: in the beginning of the last century the paintings were covered with dirt, and the chiaroscuro subjects of the dado almost destroyed. Carlo Maratti, a meritorious

* [With the exception of two allegorical figures in the Sala di Costantino.—ED.]

artist of his time, cleaned the frescos with great care, and restored the smaller compositions underneath as well as he could. There is, consequently, so much of Maratti's own work, and even of his composition, in these latter, which are besides less important works, that we shall not again refer to them in the following descriptions.

The execution of the paintings in the Stanze occupied Raphael during the whole of his residence in Rome, up to the time of his death, and were only completed by his scholars. The order in which they were painted does not correspond with their relative local position. We shall describe them according to the order of time *.

I. CAMERA DELLA SEGNATURA.

3 The paintings of this apartment, the first in the Vatican which Raphael embellished, were finished in 1511. The subjects comprehend Theology, Poetry, Philosophy, and Jurisprudence, *i. e.* the representation of those high pursuits which belong to the more elevated tendencies of human nature. They consist of the following works.

The Paintings on the Ceiling.

Four round pictures are in the centre of the triangular compartments of the groined ceiling; between them

* [More detailed descriptions of these frescos will be found in the Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, before quoted, and in Passavant; Bellori, Fuseli, Duppa and Quatremère de Quincy may also be consulted. Of the fanciful and erudite essays of D'Hankerville, one only, relating to the 'Parnassus' (Poetry), appears to have been published. See Longhena's Italian translation of Quat. de Quincy's Histoire de la Vie de Raphael, p. 85.—ED.]

are four others of an oblong shape*. In the round pictures the above-mentioned moral tendencies are personified by allegorical female figures of noble air, throned in the clouds in divine serenity and repose; each is characterized, not only by symbols, but by her individual qualities of form, movement and expression. At the side of each the space is filled with beautiful *genii*, who hold tablets with inscriptions referring to each personification. The figure of Poetry is distinguished above all by its beauty; her countenance expresses a sweet complacency and a serene inspiration. Of the square side-pictures, that next to Theology represents the Fall of Man, a picture of simple and most harmonious composition, perhaps the most beautiful treatment of this subject; next to Poetry is the Punishment of Marsyas; next to Philosophy, a female figure, who examines a terrestrial globe; next to Jurisprudence, the Judgement of Solomon. All these eight pictures are on a golden ground like mosaic; they remind us occasionally, particularly in the greenish middle tints of the flesh-colour, of the earlier stages of Raphael's progress.

The Paintings on the Walls.

The allegorical figures on the ceiling form, as it were, the title of the large pictures on the walls. These are arranged in the following order.

I. THEOLOGY (erroneously called "La Disputa del

* These last extend across the edges of the vaulting, and consequently appear as if bent round them. Raphael was not answerable for this, since he was obliged to preserve the compartments of the roof, as arranged by his predecessor Razzi, of whose works there still exist some small accessories and arabesques.

Sacramento").—It is divided into two principal parts: the upper half represents the glory of Heaven, in the solemn manner of the early painters. In the centre is the Saviour, with outstretched arms, throned on the clouds; on his right, the Virgin, sweet and affectionate in expression and mien, bows before her divine son in heart-felt adoration; on the left is St. John the Baptist. Over the Saviour appears a half-figure of the Almighty, and below him hovers the dove of the Holy Spirit. Around this group, in a half circle, sit the Patriarchs, the Apostles and Saints—sublime dignified figures, with the noblest solemnity and repose in their movements. Over them hover on each side three very beautiful angel-youths; below them, as if supporting the clouds, are a multitude of angel-heads, and four boy-angels hold the books of the Evangelists beside the dove. In the lower half of the picture we see an assembly of the most celebrated theologians of the church. In the centre, raised on steps, is an altar with the host (as the mystical type of the bodily presence of the Saviour on earth). Next to the altar, on each side, sit the four fathers of the Latin church; next to and behind them stand other celebrated teachers of the church. At the extreme ends, on each side, are various groups of youths and men, who press forward to hear the revelation of the holy mystery, some in attitudes of enthusiastic devotion, some yet doubting, and apparently in dispute. All these figures, especially as regards the expression of the heads, are completed with most striking and characteristic individuality, and are enlivened by a conscientious study of details. It is this careful, almost la-

borious treatment of separate parts, which marks this fresco as one of the earlier works; in the later ones we observe an increasing attention to general effect. The solemn and severe style of the upper part of the picture, as well as the gold lights, is not to be considered as a blind imitation of the older manner, as some have asserted, but rather as conformable to the mystical meaning of the subject, and on this ground intentionally retained by the artist.

2. POETRY (over and on each side of the window).—In the upper part is seen Apollo with the Muses, under laurel-trees on the heights of Parnassus. The poets of antiquity and of modern Italy are ranged on each side; among them Homer recites inspired verses, which a youth eagerly writes down: behind him are Virgil and Dante. Below, on each side of the window, are two separate groups: on one side Petrarch, Sappho, Corinna and others, are engaged in conversation; on the other Pindar, a very aged figure, speaks with an air of enthusiasm: Horace and another poet listen to him with reverential admiration. These lower groups appear to represent Lyric Poetry in its various branches, whilst in the upper we recognize the poets of the *Epos*. The picture is admirably arranged; the single groups of which it is composed harmonize with one another, and unite, without the appearance of art, in a grand whole. A cheerful, graceful character, corresponding with the poetic life of Italy in Raphael's time, pervades this work, which abounds in refined and noble *motives*. Yet some of the figures are less excellent: the Apollo himself is not very beautiful; the two Muses seated next to him

are perhaps placed too symmetrically. In style this work consequently forms the transition to what are called the grander compositions. The painting on the next wall is considered the first of these.

3. PHILOSOPHY (better known as the "School of Athens").—It represents a large atrium in the noble style of Bramante; in it are assembled many teachers of philosophy with their scholars. A flight of several steps raises the more distant figures above the nearer groups. The former represent the school of the higher philosophy: Plato and Aristotle stand together in the centre, as if disputing on their doctrines. Plato, the representative of Speculative Philosophy, points upwards with uplifted arm; Aristotle stretches his outspread hand toward the earth, as the source of his Practical Philosophy. At each side, extending deeper into the picture, a double row of attentive hearers is seen: next to them, on one side, stands Socrates; some listeners have collected around him, to whom he explains in order (counting on his fingers) his principles and their conclusions. Opposite are placed several persons engaged in different ways, in conversation and study. In the foreground, on both sides, the sciences of Arithmetic and Geometry, with their subordinate studies, occupy separate groups. On the left, as the head of Arithmetic, we observe Pythagoras, who writes upon his knee; several scholars and followers (one with a tablet inscribed with a musical scale), as well as other philosophers, are around him. On the right Archimedes constructs a geometrical figure on a tablet lying on the ground. Several scholars watch its progress; the different degrees of their intelligence

are represented most strikingly. Next to them are Zoroaster and Ptolemy, as representatives of Astronomy and Geography, with celestial and terrestial globes. On the steps, between the two groups, and apart from all, reclines Diogenes the Cynic; a youth, directed by an old man, turns from him to the teachers of a higher philosophy. Near the group of Archimedes, close to the edge of the picture, Raphael himself enters the hall, accompanying his master Perugino; Archimedes is the portrait of Raphael's uncle Bramante*. The general arrangement of this painting is most masterly. Plato and Aristotle, with the group of their scholars, are placed together in dignified regularity, without any appearance of stiffness or constraint; on each side and around them greater freedom prevails, with the utmost variety in the attitudes of the figures which compose the groups; while again the leading masses are still balanced most satisfactorily. The style is grand and free; a picturesque unity of effect seems to have been the artist's aim throughout, and this aim he has attained most perfectly. The taste of design, both in the nude and in drapery, is excellent, and is everywhere guided by the purest sentiment of beauty; the group of youths, in particular, collected round Archimedes, is among the most interesting and natural of Raphael's creations†.

4. JURISPRUDENCE (above and on each side of the window).—The subjects of this wall are divided into three

* [Bramante was from Urbania (formerly called Castel Durante), near Urbino, but not related to Raphael. See Pungileone: Elogio Storico di Raff. p. 114.—ED.]

† The cartoon for the figures of this composition, with some variations, is in the Ambrosian library at Milan.

separate pictures. Over the window, enclosed by the arch, are three sitting female figures—personifications of Prudence, Fortitude and Temperance, as the virtues without whose aid the science of law cannot be applied to daily life. Prudence is raised above the others, in the centre; in front her countenance is youthful; at the back, aged, in allusion to her power of looking into the future and the past*. One *genius* holds a mirror to the former, a second, a torch to the latter. Fortitude is personified as an armed woman in a bold attitude, with an oak-branch in her hand and a lion at her side†. Temperance holds a bridle. Beautiful *genii* are introduced beside these figures also, to fill up the space. The two last-mentioned have more animation, which perhaps disturbs in some degree the repose that allegorical creations require. At the sides of the window is represented the science of Jurisprudence, in its two divisions of ecclesiastical and civil law. On the larger side, underneath the figure of Temperance, is Gregory XI., seated on the papal throne; he delivers the decretals to a consistorial advocate. The features of the pope are those of Julius II.; the figures who surround him are also portraits of individuals composing his court at the time: the heads are full of life and character. On the smaller side, under the figure of Fortitude, is the emperor Justinian, who delivers the pandects to Tribonianus. This is a less important picture.

The entire cycle of these paintings thus belongs es-

* [The aged face is contrived to look like a mask, and, to avoid all uncertainty as to this point, it is bearded.—ED.]

† It appears to be copied from the allegorical figure of Fortitude in the frescos of the Cambio at Perugia.

sentially to the domain of thought. The task allotted to the artist was to conceive pictorially a series of abstract ideas—to embody the immaterial in material forms. Similar attempts had been made at an earlier period, in the time of Giotto and his followers. It will be interesting to review the means employed by a painter like Raphael, at the summit of the Art, in the execution of this difficult undertaking, and to consider the success he attained.

In the three first pictures we at once observe a very happy conception in the solemn union of characters celebrated in one or other of the intellectual pursuits represented: they are brought together, as in the "Triumphs of Petrarch," without regard to the time in which they lived, but solely with reference to their spiritual relation, their common efforts toward a high aim. They are thus easily separated into subordinate groups, according to their greater or less efficiency and influence. But it was necessary to form one central point to define the object of their exertions.

In the "Theology" this point is, properly speaking, the Altar with the Sacrament, as the unchanging symbol of redemption, according to the ritual of the Church. The sacrament in itself explains to the Christian spectator the point to which the meditations of the assembled theologians were directed; but after all it is merely a symbol, and presents nothing tangible to the mind or feelings. Hence the glory of Heaven, which represents the Saviour himself, and the Prophets and witnesses of his mission, is introduced above. By this means the picture produces its effect directly upon the mind of the spectator; and so far as he understands the figures of the

Christian mythology* there is no further difficulty to be explained. With regard to unity of effect, the picture might, however, be criticized; not so much because it is divided into two separate parts, as that neither of these predominates by its mass—that neither, properly speaking, is the principal.

In the "Poetry" the figures of Apollo and the Muses at once explain the subject; they are perfectly intelligible, as they belong to a well-known fable. Although the poets are assembled round them in familiar intercourse, the Muses and the god still appear, so to speak, as the hosts—the poets as the guests—of Parnassus. Thus is formed a well-connected whole, as agreeable to thought as to feeling, and the mind of the beholder is attuned to corresponding serenity. The picture is like a refined and pleasing poem: the eye and mind easily comprehend it, while by degrees it unfolds a deeper meaning.

In the "Philosophy," on the contrary, there is no definite explanation of its meaning, no allegorical, no poetical figures (for the statues of Apollo and Minerva, placed in niches at the sides, cannot be considered as such), to explain to us what special interest moves the assembly, at least the upper portion of it†. The subject

* [The term 'Christian mythology' is sometimes employed by Protestant writers in alluding to monastic legends.—ED.]

† That this remark is not altogether fanciful, is proved by the many erroneous interpretations given of the subject in engravings and descriptions immediately after Raphael's death. The authors of these descriptions, it seems, thought they recognized allusions to the Christian religion. See the Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, bd. ii. bu. 1. s. 336.

does not present its deeper meaning immediately to our feelings, and prosaic *understanding* must undertake the task of explanation. The master has displayed his art in this instance not so much in the poetical effect of the whole, as in the grand arrangement of the mass and space—in the surpassing beauty of the single groups and figures, which in themselves undoubtedly give complete satisfaction to the eye. It has been asserted that Raphael was embarrassed by the subject, devoid as it would seem to be of dramatic interest. But among the paintings in the Spanish chapel at Florence (§ XXIV. 4) we have had occasion to notice a subject of a very similar kind, which, notwithstanding all the defects and constraint it betrays in the means of representation, produces a much more direct and powerful effect on the mind and feelings, at least so far as such an effect can be produced by allegory.

In the "Jurisprudence" the unfavourable position of the window, which leaves but a very small space on one side, appears to have occasioned the division of the space into three separate pictures. In consequence of this the master found it necessary in the upper picture to return to an allegorical mode of representation, which allows the expression of several ideas by means of very few figures.

II. STANZA OF THE HELIODORUS.

The works in this chamber, so called after its principal picture, appear to have directly followed the foregoing. The four divisions of the ceiling correspond to the triangular compartments of the groining, and are formed by a decoration intended to represent figured

tapestry. The subjects are from the Old Testament, and include the promises of the Lord to the Patriarchs; in allusion, no doubt, to the power of the Church, and analogous to the ancient Christian symbols (§ IV. 3): —the Promise of God to Abraham of a numerous posterity*; the Sacrifice of Isaac; Jacob's Dream; Moses before God in the burning bush.

These are simple grand compositions, but unfortunately much injured, the colour, and consequently the effect, having suffered materially, probably from damp. The four large paintings on the wall refer to the divine assistance granted to the Church against her foes, and the miraculous corroboration of her doctrines; with a special reference to her relations, ecclesiastical and political, at the period of her foundation.

1. THE EXPULSION OF HELIODORUS FROM THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM.—As treasurer to the Syrian king Seleucus, Heliodorus gave command that the treasures of the temple should be plundered (2 Maccabees, iii.). This representation commemorates the deliverance of the ecclesiastical states from the foes of the apostolic authority, under Julius II., and his preservation of the possessions of the Church. We look into the nave of the temple: in the background is the altar, before which the high-priest kneels in prayer, to avert the threatened danger; a crowd of people surround him; agile youths climb on the pedestal of a column in order to see the ceremony. In the foreground, on the right

* [Sometimes called, God appearing to Noah. (See Passavant: Rafael von Urbino, ii. 153.) These four subjects are about to be engraved by Ludwig Gruner.—Ed.]

of the spectator, Heliodorus with his servants appears to have been in the act of dragging away the treasures: Heliodorus lies prostrate under the hoofs of a horse on which sits a figure in golden armour: near him two youths sweep forwards to scourge with rods the despoilers of the temple. This is a group of extraordinary poetic power: it is like the flash of divine anger, which strikes the criminal to the earth. Opposite is a dense group of women and children, beautifully varied in action, their countenances expressing astonishment and alarm. Next to them is Pope Julius II., borne to the Temple under a canopy. His presence is intended to indicate the relation of the miraculous event to the circumstances of his time. The picture is a spirited development of an extended action, including within itself both beginning and end; it admirably represents an animated fleeting moment: the apparent absence of interest and emotion in the group around the Pope alone disturbs this effect; it were to be wished that these figures could have exhibited a direct sympathy, a more than extrinsic allusion to the event. This picture exhibits an inimitable reality and grace in the form and action of the figures; as a whole it is executed with a grand freedom, dictated by an attention to the general effect, although it is asserted that many parts are not by the master's own hand.

2. THE MASS OF BOLSENA (above and on each side of the window);—a representation of a miracle wrought in the year 1263. A priest who doubted the doctrine of transubstantiation was convinced by the blood which flowed from the host he was consecrating. In the last-

mentioned picture we see the protection afforded to the church in her external relations; in this, her internal security against sceptics and heretics, and the infallibility of the Romish doctrines. It no doubt also contains a reference to the times, to the ferment of mind which preceded the outbreak of the Reformation. The connection of the miraculous event with the existing persons is contrived in a simple, but very masterly and satisfactory manner. Over the window is an altar in the choir of a church: the priest kneels before it, and regards the bleeding wafer with an expression of embarrassment, astonishment, and shame; behind him are choir-boys with tapers in their hands. On the other side of the altar kneels Julius II. before his fald-stool, in prayer, his eyes fixed upon the miracle with a solemn and earnest expression of conviction. At each side of the window is a flight of steps: on the left, where the officiating priest is, a great number of people press forwards with varied expressions of wonder: before the steps is a group of women and children, whose attention is thus directed to what is passing. On the other side, behind the Pope, some kneeling cardinals and other prelates express different degrees of sympathy: in front of the steps is a part of the Papal Swiss-guard. This picture is remarkable not only for its excellent well-connected composition, but for its highly characteristic figures, the courtly submissiveness of the priests, the rude, hardy figures of the Swiss, the various ways in which the people manifest their sympathy, but above all the beautiful *naïveté* of the choir-boys, and of the youths who look over the enclosure of the choir; all this is con-

nected satisfactorily and naturally with the two principal personages. The colouring of this picture has been greatly extolled, and many have, in this instance, placed Raphael on a level with the masters of the Venetian school; this opinion however is the result of an extreme partiality*: the colouring is warm, but the execution is frequently coarse, so as almost to look like tapestry, thus already evincing an indifference to higher finish, which from this period becomes more and more visible in the frescos of the Vatican Stanze.

Granting that this broader execution may have been the result of the greater freedom to which Raphael had attained in an artistic conception of nature, and that this freedom may, as usual, easily lead to an abuse of acquired powers, yet accidental circumstances had also a share in producing the change in question. The attention which Raphael had bestowed on the Stanze during the first years of his residence in Rome was now distributed over various other undertakings. The Mass of Bolsena was finished in 1512; in 1513 Julius II. died, and was succeeded in the Papal chair by Leo X., a prince who, notwithstanding his finely cultivated taste, appears to have been more inclined to show and splendour on a large scale than to an energetic completion of any single work. Commissions of various kinds from this time occupied the youthful master; the works in the Stanze by degrees fell into the background; much was

* [In this judgement the author probably stands alone. High authorities at least are agreed in considering this, and indeed all the large paintings in the same Stanza, the finest examples of fresco the art can boast. Titian's frescos at Padua are less richly and effectively coloured than the Mass of Bolsena and the Heliodorus.—Ed.]

of necessity left to his scholars, much also in composition was treated even in the beginning with singular negligence. Nevertheless the first three pictures which Raphael executed in these apartments under Leo X. are among the most important works of his pencil. Two of them cover the remaining walls of the Stanza of the Heliodorus.

3. ATTILA, at the head of his army, induced by the warnings of Pope Leo I., and the threatening apparition of the apostles Peter and Paul, to desist from his hostile enterprize against Rome.—This subject appears to allude to the expulsion of the French from Italy, which Leo X. had effected by the assistance of the Swiss in the year 1513. The Pope and his train occupy one side of the picture. The Pope's features are those of Leo X., and he as well as his retinue are in the costume of the 16th century. Above them appear the two Apostles with swords in their hands. Attila looks up affrighted at the apparition, while his army, thrown into wild confusion, begins to retreat. In the host of the Hunnish horsemen the movements are powerful, bold and animated: the Papal group is tranquil and unembarrassed; this tranquillity, it must be confessed, is carried so far that the figures have almost the air of simple portraits. There are great beauties in the execution of this picture, but it is not free from mannerism and weakness.

4. THE DELIVERANCE OF PETER from Prison (above and on each side of a window).—This subject is divided into three parts, each of which contains different moments of the event. Above the window, we see through a grating into the interior of the prison: the angel awa-

kens Peter, who sleeps between his guards. At the right of the window, the angel leads him through the guards sleeping on the steps. In both these representations, the arrangement of which is extremely beautiful, the figures are illuminated by the beams of light which proceed from the angel. On the left, the guards are awakened: this group receives its light from the moon and torch-light. The painting is particularly celebrated for the picturesque effect of these lights. It is supposed to contain an allusion to the captivity of Leo X., who had been liberated only the year preceding his elevation to the pontificate.

III. STANZA DEL INCENDIO.

On the ceiling of this chamber are four round pictures, in which are represented the Almighty and Christ, in different glories. These are the remains of the works of Perugino. The pictures on the walls contain events from the lives of Leo III. and IV. They have probably been chosen with reference to the relation by name to Leo X., and correspond to the general plan of the cycle of the Stanze, which, as before mentioned, is dedicated to the glorification of the papal power. The most important are:—

1. THE FIRE IN THE BORGO* (a suburb added to Rome by Leo IV.).—The conflagration was miraculously extinguished by the Pope making the sign of the cross. In the background, we see the portico of the old church of St. Peter's: in it are assembled the Pope and the

* [Better known by its Italian denomination the 'Incendio del Borgo.'—ED.]

clergy ; on the steps of the church, the people who have fled thither for assistance. On each side of the foreground are burning houses. On the left the inhabitants are flying almost naked, variously intent on securing their own safety, and still more anxious to save those dear to them. On the right men are busied in extinguishing the flames ; women bear vessels of water to them. In the centre a group of women and children crowd anxiously together, and pray to the Pope for succour. A great number of beautiful and noble figures are brought together in this picture, uniting, through one exciting cause, the greatest variety of agitating passions. In this instance the artist was perfectly free, and could give free scope to his feeling for the grand and graceful in form, without any prejudice to the interest of the subject, although, from the manner in which he has conceived it, the chief action is thrown into the distance, and its most prominent meaning is thus lost to the mind. The figures of the two young women who carry vessels of water, with their drapery tossed in grand folds by the storm*, are very beautiful. In the naked figures, on the contrary, however beautiful in the principal group, there is a manifest endeavour to display a knowledge of form, perhaps from a wish to rival the powerful figures of Michael Angelo. This effort in some degree weakens the spectator's interest ; and it must also be admitted that the colouring of this part of

* [That no storm is represented appears by the quiet draperies of the distant figures near the Pope. Raphael probably intended to express the rush of air always observable in the vicinity of a conflagration.—Ed.]

the picture is very defective, the shadows of the flesh being disagreeably black: the assistance of scholars is very apparent throughout the whole work. The other paintings in this apartment are less important as regards their composition.

2. THE VICTORY AT OSTIA OVER THE SARACENS, who had made a descent on Italy in the time of Leo IV. —This fresco is not executed by Raphael.

3. THE OATH OF LEO III.; by which he purified himself of the crimes of which his enemies accused him before Charlemagne: (as Pope he could not be judged by any earthly tribunal).

4. CHARLEMAGNE CROWNED BY LEO III.; (temporal power flowing from the spiritual).—This picture contains a great number of excellent portraits, in which we recognize the master's own hand.

IV. SALA DI COSTANTINO.

The principal paintings in this large flat-roofed apartment are arranged as hanging tapestries; between them are introduced some figures of canonized Popes and allegorical female personifications. The large works represent scenes from the life of the emperor Constantine, in which he figures as the champion of the church and the founder of its temporal power.

These works were not executed till after Raphael's death, from his drawings, and under the direction of Giulio Romano. It is said that Raphael intended to use oil colours instead of fresco in this instance, which would have enabled him more easily to correct the work of his scholars. Two of the allegorical figures, Justice

and Benignity, are actually painted in oil*;—probably immediately after his death, and from his cartoons, as we recognize much of his own noble manner, particularly in the heads. It does not appear that his drawings were used for any other of the allegorical personifications or figures of Popes. At a subsequent period, fresco, which is better adapted for paintings on walls, was again resorted to in the completion of these designs.

The principal work of this apartment is the Battle between Constantine and Maxentius at the Ponte Molle near Rome. It was executed by Giulio Romano, after a drawing of Raphael, without any alteration except a few unimportant omissions. The design is, therefore, Raphael's own, and it is certainly one of his most important compositions. The moment represented is the crisis of victory: the vanquished are driven to the banks of the Tiber: the emperor on horseback, at the head of his army, springs over the bodies of his prostrate foes. Figures of Victory hover over his head. He raises his spear against Maxentius—now driven into the river, and contending with the waves in desperation. More distant on the right is seen the last struggle on the shore, and with those who endeavour to save themselves in boats. Still deeper in the picture the fugitives are pursued over the bridge. On the left the battle still rages: here the fury of the victors, the desperate resistance of the last who oppose them, are displayed in various groups. Yet this wild chaos of figures easily resolves itself into separate masses; the various well-expressed moments of

* [See Vasari: Vita di Giulio Romano.—Ed.]

the action guide the eye insensibly to the bright central point. The battle, the victory, the defeat, form a dramatic whole, admirably developed, and calculated to produce the grandest impression when the eye has learned to take in the rich variety of figures. And not less striking is the life, the energy of the single forms, and the varied and spirited manner in which they are interwoven with the tragic whole. Many later artists have made this work their model for representations of the same kind, but none have ever equalled its poetic effect. The execution is bold and clever; the sharp hard manner of Giulio Romano can hardly be said to injure the effect of this wildly animated scene.

The other representations in this apartment are of much less interest; partly because the compositions themselves appear to have been originally less excellent; partly because ill-advised, and even unseemly changes were afterwards made which essentially lessened the dignity of the subjects. The first and most important —the Vision of the Holy Cross before the battle (properly the first of the series)—was executed by G. Romano. The second, and least successful—the Baptism of Constantine—is ascribed to Francesco Penni. The third—the Gift of Rome to the Pope—is ascribed to Raffaellino dal Colle. The ceiling is decorated with unimportant paintings of a later date.

THE LOGGIE OF THE VATICAN.

§ LXXVI. While the later works in the Stanze were in progress Raphael was employed by Leo X. on two other great undertakings in the department of painting.

One was the decoration of the Loggie of the Vatican; the other the designs for the tapestries of the Sistine Chapel.

The Loggie are open galleries built round three sides of the court of St. Damasus (the older portion of the Vatican Palace). They were begun by Bramante under Julius II., and completed by Raphael under Leo X. They consist of three stories; the two lower formed by vaulted arcades, the upper by an elegant colonnade. The first arcade of the middle story was decorated with paintings and stuccos under Raphael's direction: it leads to the Stanze, so that one master-work here succeeds to another. If we consider the harmonious combination of architecture, modelling and painting, displayed in these Loggie—all the production of one mind—there is no place in Rome which gives so high an idea of the cultivated taste and feeling for beauty which existed in the age of Leo X.

The walls round the windows on the inner side of the Loggie are ornamented with festoons of flowers and fruits of great beauty and delicate style. The other paintings, which adorn the walls alternately with small stuccos, represent animals of various kinds, but consist principally in the so-called arabesque or grotesque ornaments. The lightest and most agreeable play of fancy guides the eye, by graceful changes, from one subject to another. It is the embodying of fabulous poetry, which connects the strangest forms of fancy with those of vivid reality. The stuccos consist of various architectural ornaments and an almost innumerable multitude of reliefs, of small busts, single figures

and groups, which principally represent mythological subjects (Leo X. was the zealous friend and patron of classical antiquity): they exhibit a spirited imitation of the antique style and in some cases of actually existing monuments.

A distinguished scholar of Raphael, in this department of decorative art, Giovanni da Udine, directed the execution of the stuccos and ornaments. Perino del Vaga was the principal assistant of the master in the figures. This kind of decoration was afterwards frequently imitated by several of Raphael's scholars in other places, and has been adopted by modern artists; whilst the yet unrivalled originals, less from the effect of time than from barbarism and wantonness, are materially injured, and retain but a faint shadow of their original beauty.

The paintings of the vaulted ceiling are on the whole in better preservation; they are the chief ornaments of the arcade, and the subjects just described form only a graceful frame and accompaniment to them. They represent an extensive cycle of events from Scripture, particularly from the Old Testament, and are known by the name of "Raphael's Bible." There is little by his own hand in these works: the superintendence of them was entrusted to Giulio Romano, and they were painted by him and other scholars from drawings by the master. If they do not exhibit the perfection which is apparent in the works of Raphael's own hand, the greater number belong to his happiest compositions, to those of his productions in which his peculiar talent is most happily displayed. The patriarchal simplicity of the histories

of the Old Testament, a simplicity so nearly allied to that of classical antiquity, affords materials well adapted to representations of life in its primæval serenity and circumscribed relations; to the development of expression, undisturbed by vague and unsatisfied longings; to the creation of noble forms animated by harmonious feelings. The contemplation of these figures, like pure harmony in music, fully satisfies the mind by excluding every thought of an ulterior change. A few only of the series are of inferior merit in composition.

The roof of this Loggia is formed by thirteen small cupolas, each containing four pictures in a different frame-work; there are fifty-two in the whole: the single cupolas always embrace a series of connected subjects. The following is a list of those in the cupolas, with the names of the scholars of Raphael to whom the execution is ascribed:

1. The Creation.—Giulio Romano.—The figures of the Almighty are after the type defined by Michael Angelo in the roof of the Sistine Chapel, but they do not attain the grandeur of the original.

2. History of Adam and Eve.—Giulio Romano.—The figure of Eve in the subject of the Fall is probably painted by Raphael himself. The Expulsion is an imitation and improvement of Masaccio's, in the Brancacci Chapel at Florence.

3 Subjects from the History of Noah.—Giulio Romano.

4. Subjects from the History of Abraham and Lot. —Francesco Penni.

5. —— of Isaac.—Francesco Penni.

6. Subjects from the History of Jacob.—Pellegrino da Modena.

7. —— of Joseph.—Giulio Romano.

8. —— of Moses.—Perino del Vaga, or G. Romano.

9. —— of Moses.—Raffaellino dal Colle.

10. —— of Joshua.—Perino del Vaga.

11. —— of David.—Perino del Vaga.

12. —— of Solomon.—Pellegrino da Modena.

13. —— of the New Testament.—Perino del Vaga, or Giulio Romano*.

* [As this gallery forms the approach to the Stanze, so the Bible subjects it contains appear intended to prefigure the advent of the Redeemer and the establishment of his Church. All the characters of the Old Testament whose history forms the subjects of the different compartments, are, according to the early fathers, types of Christ; while the Creation of Eve, the Ark of Noah, the Temple of Solomon, and other subjects, relate, according to the same mystic theology, to the foundation and preservation of the Church. (See, as a specimen of many works of the kind, the Sylva Allegoriarum of Hieronymus Lauretus, Ven. 1575.) It is of importance to remember that this system of interpretation was familiar among the theologians of the period; and scripture subjects, which had not been selected in illustration of the dogmas of faith, were naturally overlooked by the painters. The following passage, relating to the first of the above subjects (which was never wanting in early illustrations of the Bible), is quoted by various writers from St. Augustine: "Dormiente Adam fit Eva de latere. Mortuo Christo lanceâ perforatur latus, ut profluant sacramenta quibus formetur Ecclesia." One cupola alone contains subjects from the New Testament, and originally concluded the series, on the very threshold as it were, of the triumph of the Church represented within. The subjects of this cupola are, the Adoration of the Shepherds and the Adoration of the Kings (the Gospel preached to rich and poor), and the two essential Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The author has well explained the general purport of the frescos of the Stanze, beginning with the establishment of the Church under Constantine, and gradually exhibiting its powers and privileges according to the faith of Rome. The third room, con-

For the second and third arcades of the same story the New Testament subjects are continued and completed by unimportant artists of a later period.

THE TAPESTRIES.

§ LXXVII. In the years 1515 and 1516 Raphael executed designs for the ten tapestries which were intended to adorn the Sistine Chapel. They represent events from the lives of the Apostles, and are some of Raphael's most important productions. They display not only great dignity and grandeur of form, a most intelligible and harmonious arrangement of the groups, but also such depth and power of thought, such a surprising dramatic development of each event, that historical representation here appears to have attained its highest triumph. A particular attention appears to have been given to the material to be employed, and many decorations are happily introduced which are calculated to produce a beautiful effect in tapestry. Raphael furnished large cartoons in distemper colours, which were either executed by himself or under his immediate direction, chiefly by Francesco Penni*. Seven of these cartoons are preserved in the Palace of Hampton Court,

taining the subjects of Theology, Poetry, Philosophy and Jurisprudence, does not so directly belong to this general scheme, and this is explained by the fact of its having been the first planned, when the remaining rooms had been already in part decorated by Pietro della Francesca, Signorelli, and other painters: it was therefore intended to be complete in itself. The works of these painters having been removed and a fuller scope thus offered to Raphael, he then for the first time appears to have conceived the connected cycle to which we have alluded.—ED.]

* [See Vasari: Vita di Francesco il Fattore.—ED.]

in England. The tapestries themselves are kept in some rooms of the Vatican. They were worked from the cartoons, at Arras in Flanders, and hence were called "Arrazzi." It is said that the execution was superintended by Bernhard van Orley, a Flemish artist formed in the school of Raphael. They are very masterly in execution, particularly in the flowing, elastic treatment of the forms, and must excite greater admiration when we consider the difficulties of the execution. Alas! they are not only injured in many parts and badly restored, but they have faded so much that the general effect of the colouring is destroyed. According to their original destination they form two series; the first comprehending the earlier history of the Christian church, in which St. Peter is the principal personage; the second consisting of events from the ministry of St. Paul. The following are the different subjects.

First Series.

1. THE MIRACULOUS DRAUGHT OF FISHES.—A composition of remarkable serenity and repose. The scene represents the sea of Gennesaret, with a view of the distant shore: in front are two boats with three figures in each; in one boat they are employed in hauling in a net with great effort; in the other, which seems sinking with the weight of the fish, Peter kneels before Christ. The two boats are placed in one line and close to one another, which produces a singular effect, as if the figures were slowly passing before the eye of the spectator. Three herons, standing at the water's edge, stretch up their long necks. This cartoon appears to have

been painted almost entirely by Raphael's own hand, as a model perhaps for the others; the keeping is remarkably well observed, the drawing excellent, the colouring clear and deep in tone. It is supposed that the fish and the herons are by Giovanni da Udine.

2. THE DELIVERY OF THE KEYS TO PETER.—The Disciples, to whom our Lord appears at the sea of Tiberias after his resurrection, are here assembled. Peter kneels before Christ with the keys in his hand; Christ points with one hand to the keys, with the other to a flock of sheep, in the middle distance, as emblematic of his own words, "Feed my sheep." The Saviour is a dignified figure, the expression and movements of the apostles excellent: John is represented in an attitude of adoring reverence; the others express astonishment in various ways.

3. THE HEALING OF THE LAME MAN.—The scene is the portico of the Temple, with several rows of richly-ornamented twisted columns, by which the picture is divided into three groups. In the centre the miracle is performed by Peter and John. Among the surrounding people are several very graceful women and beautiful children. The whole gives an impression of festive splendour.

4. THE DEATH OF ANANIAS.—A composition exhibiting a masterly development of the event. In the centre is a tribune on which the apostles are assembled: on one side several people deliver in their property (according to the established community of goods); among them a woman carefully counts over her money, instead of giving it in with confidence—undoubtedly the wife of Ananias. On the other side, several poor people receive

assistance from the common fund. In the foreground Ananias has fallen in convulsions to the ground, as a punishment for his falsehood: those who are beside him start back affrighted. Peter and James (who invoke the wrath of Heaven on Ananias) are figures of grand apostolic majesty.

5. THE STONING OF STEPHEN.—The figure of the saint is particularly excellent. Kneeling, he raises his eyes to heaven (where the Saviour appears with the Eternal Father and angels), and prays to God for forgiveness for his murderers. In the foreground Saul holds the clothes of the witnesses. This cartoon has disappeared.

Second Series.

1. THE CONVERSION OF ST PAUL.—Paul lies on the ground, thrown from his horse; above him appears the threatening figure of the Saviour: Paul alone sees it; his armed followers witness the awfulness of the Divine presence only in its effects. The expression of fear and consternation is admirably portrayed. The cartoon is lost.

2. THE PUNISHMENT OF THE SORCERER ELYMAS.—The proconsul, Sergius, is seated on his throne, in the centre of the picture, with lictors, etc., at his side. In front and on the right of the spectator, Paul stretches his arm toward the sorcerer with calm dignity; the latter stands on the left: a sudden darkness has come upon him; he moves with uncertain steps and open mouth, feeling his way with outstretched arms. The sudden fate of the impostor is expressed in this instance with the same mastery as in that of the Ananias. Consternation and wonder are visible in the bystanders: the proconsul

turns angrily toward his learned men, who stand embarrassed behind the sorcerer.

3. PAUL AND BARNABAS AT LYSTRA.—A festal procession, with a victim (the whole imitated from an antique bas-relief), approaches, to offer sacrifice to Paul before the steps of a temple. On one side, at the head of the procession, a man cured of lameness has thrown down his crutches and turns gratefully to Paul, who, standing on the opposite side, rends his garment in indignation at the error of the heathen. A youth, who observes the gestures of the apostle, endeavours to stop the sacrificer.

4. THE PREACHING OF PAUL AT ATHENS.—Paul stands on the steps of a building and addresses the people, who stand before him in a half-circle. His figure is very dignified: both arms are raised to heaven with an expression of earnest eloquence: the effect on the auditors is very varied. The different philosophical sects, of stoics, epicureans, and others, are easily distinguished. The sophists dispute; others stand in doubt, or easy indifference, looking on, or lost in thought; others, full of faith, are penetrated with the truth.

5. PAUL IN THE PRISON OF PHILIPPI, at the time of the earthquake.—The earthquake is personified by a giant, who has torn an opening in the earth. Behind the grate of the prison the apostle is seen in prayer; in front are the guards. (A very small tapestry: the cartoon does not exist.)

The borders round these works are enriched with ornaments corresponding in style with those in the Loggie. The lateral divisions or pilasters are ornamented with graceful figures in the arabesque taste, generally mythological in their allusions, and in the natural

colours. Under the large subjects are small compositions in the style of friezes, painted in bronze colour. Those under the second series are scenes from the history of the apostles, so connected with the subjects of the chief pictures, as to carry on and unite the separate events. Those under the first series represent incidents from the early history of Leo, in the style of antique reliefs; and although the costume of the time is retained in the principal portraits, it is so managed as to harmonize with this classic treatment. Both series give an additional proof of Raphael's all-pervading taste and feeling for beauty, which enabled him to give even to the least important subjects the impress of his own noble mind*.

§ LXXVIII. In the same apartments of the Vatican there is another series of tapestries, also designed by Raphael. They are twelve in number†, higher in shape, and without the ornamental accessories. They represent scenes from the life of Christ, and were certainly executed after the others. The circumstance of their being called by the keepers of the Vatican, "Arazzi della scuola nuova," as distinguished from the first-described, called "Arazzi della scuola vecchia," seems to confirm this. It does not appear probable that the cartoons for these last-mentioned tapestries were executed under Raphael's immediate direction, since, in the greater number, the drawing is much less satisfactory than in

* [See the note at the end of this chapter, on the original situation of the tapestries.—ED.]

† [A thirteenth, with allegorical figures alluding to the papal power, completes the series. (Passavant: Rafael von Urbino, ii. 260.) —ED.]

the other series. We observe also some elements foreign to his school, of a Flemish character, which makes it probable that a part at least were executed by Flemish artists, such as Bernhard van Orley and others. Nevertheless, the general invention, composition and style of these works announce, for the most part, the unquestionable genius of Raphael,—the same grace and dignity which we recognise in all his productions. The most beautiful of this second series are the Adoration of the Kings; the Resurrection of Christ; and three narrow tapestries of the Massacre of the Innocents*. A fourth representation of this subject, more extensive in composition, was engraved after Raphael's drawing by his scholar Marc Antonio.

After the completion of the tapestries for Leo X., owing to the great applause which these splendid articles of luxury met with, repetitions were [redacted] for many other places, and these various copies are to be seen in Dresden, Mantua, England, France, and elsewhere.

§ LXXIX. We conclude with the figures of the twelve Apostles, executed in chiaroscuro after Raphael's designs, in an apartment of the Vatican, since altered. These are probably the compositions engraved by Marc Antonio, and painted by Raphael's scholars on the pilas-

* [Part of the cartoon for this tapestry is now in the National Gallery. It was originally in the possession of the elder Richardson, together with fragments of the cartoons for the Nativity and the Adoration of the Kings. They had found their way to this country from Flanders.—Richardson's Treatise on Painting, iii. 461, quoted in the Beschreibung der Stadt Rom.—Ed.]

ters of St. Vincenzo alle Tre Fontane (near Rome), where they are now to be seen. They are dignified, well-draped figures, but deficient in real grandeur.

§ LXXX. Beside all these important commissions, executed by Raphael for the Papal Court, during twelve years, many claims were made on him by private persons. Among the works of this kind may be mentioned two frescos executed for Roman churches. One in Sta 1
Maria della Pace, over the arch of the first side-chapel, on the right of the entrance; it represents four Sibyls surrounded by angels. It is one of Raphael's most perfect works: great mastery is shown in the mode of filling and taking advantage of the apparently unfavourable space. The angels who hold the tablets to be written on, or read by the sibyls, create a spirited variety in the severe symmetrical arrangement of the whole. Grace in the attitudes and movements, with a peculiar harmony of form and colour, pervade the whole picture; but important restorations have unfortunately become necessary in several parts. An interesting comparison may be instituted between this work and the Sibyls of Michael Angelo. In each we find the peculiar excellence of the two great masters; for while Michael Angelo's figures are grand, sublime, profound, the fresco of the Pace bears the impress of Raphael's serene and ingenuous grace. Raphael was assisted in this work by one of his scholars, Timoteo della Vite.

In a second fresco, representing the prophet Isaiah 2
and two angels, who hold a tablet, painted on a pilaster in S. Agostino at Rome, the comparison is unfavour-

able to Raphael. An effort to rival the powerful style of Michael Angelo is very visible in this picture; an effort which, notwithstanding the excellence of the execution in single parts, has produced only an exaggerated and affected figure.

3. While drawing these comparisons between Michael Angelo and Raphael, we may mention a small oil picture, executed by Raphael as early as 1510*,—the Vision of Ezekiel, in the Pitti Palace at Florence. It represents the Almighty, in a glory of brightly illuminated cherubs' heads, resting on the mystical forms of the bull, eagle, and lion; the angel is introduced adoring beside them, his outstretched arms supported by two *genii*. Dignity, majesty and sublimity are here blended with inexpressible beauty: the contrast between the figure of the Almighty and the two youthful *genii* is admirably portrayed, and the whole composition so clearly developed, that it is undoubtedly one of the master-works of the artist. Michael Angelo, who had also given a type of the Almighty, represents him borne upon the storm; Raphael represents him as if irradiated by the splendour of the sun:—here again both masters are supremely great, similar yet different, and neither greater than the other. The execution of this picture corresponds exactly with Raphael's first works in Rome, with some reminiscence of his earlier style. A copy of this work, formerly in the Orleans gallery, and at one time considered the original, is now at Stratton, in England.

* [Although there is evidence that this picture was partly paid for in 1510, the style sufficiently proves that it was executed at a later period. See Passavant: Rafael von Urbino, ii. 184.—ED.]

§ LXXXI. Like all other artists, Raphael is always 1 greatest when, undisturbed by foreign influence, he follows the free, original impulse of his own mind. His peculiar element was grace and beauty of form, in as far as these are the expression of high moral purity. Hence, notwithstanding the grand works in which he was employed by the Popes, his peculiar powers are most fully developed in the Madonnas and Holy Families, of which he has left so great a number. In his youth he seems to have been fondest of this class of subjects, and if his earliest works of this kind bear the impress of a dreamy, sentimental fancy, and the later ones of a cheerful conception of life, the works of his third period form the happiest medium between cheerfulness and dignity,—between innocent playfulness and a deep penetration of the spirit of his subject. They are conceived with a graceful freedom, so delicately controlled, that it appears always guided by the finest feeling for the laws of Art. They place before us those dearest relations of life which form the foundation of morality, the closest ties of family love; yet they seem to breathe a feeling still higher and holier. Mary is not only the affectionate mother; she appears, at the same time, with an expression of almost virgin timidity, and yet as the blessed one of whom the Lord was born. The infant Christ is not only the cheerful innocent child, but a prophetic seriousness rests on his features, which tells of his future sacred destiny. In the numerous representations of these subjects, varying in the number, attitude, and grouping of the figures, there prevails sometimes a more simply natural, sometimes a more profound

conception; they thus offer many interesting points of comparison. They are not all, however, from Raphael's own hand; many, though painted from his designs and in his studio, have only been retouched and completed by himself: many also which bear his name are but the works of his scholars, who endeavoured to seize and appropriate some portion of the master-spirit.

Among these works we may particularly distinguish those of the earlier part of Raphael's residence in Rome. These, as might be expected from his more severe employments, are simple compositions, of not very considerable size. The execution, however, shows that they are done quite *con amore*, and they more or less retain the traces of that deep earnestness which, we have observed, characterized his youthful works. The following are especially deserving of mention.

2 The Aldobrandini Madonna, now in the possession of Lord Garvagh.—The Madonna, sitting on a bench, bends tenderly towards the little St. John, her left arm round him; he reaches up playfully for a flower, gracefully offered to him by the infant Christ, who sits on his mother's lap. Behind the Madonna is the pilaster of an arcade, and on each side a view into the landscape beyond: the whole forms a composition of the greatest beauty and sweetness. The picture is in good preservation. An old repetition of the same subject is at Signor Camuccini's in Rome*.

3 The Madonna of the Duke of Alba, in possession of

* [The picture here alluded to is small; it contains but two figures, and is quite different in composition.—Ed.]

of Mr. Coesvelt, in London *.—The Madonna, a full-length figure, is seated in a quiet landscape-scene; the child on her lap; she holds a book in her hand, which she has been just reading: the little St. John kneels before his divine companion with infantine grace and offers him a cross, which he receives with looks of unutterable love: the Madonna's eyes are directed to the prophetic play of the children with a deep earnest expression. It is a beautiful picture, executed in the best and most delicate style by the master's own hand, and very well preserved.

The Madonna della Sedia, in the Pitti Palace, Flo- 4
rence—a round picture.—The Madonna, seen in a side view, sits on a low chair holding the Child on her knee; he leans on her bosom in a listless, child-like attitude: at the side John folds his little hands in prayer. The Madonna wears a many-coloured handkerchief on her shoulders, and another on her head, in the manner of the Italian women. She appears as a beautiful and blooming woman, looking out of the picture in the tranquil enjoyment of maternal love; the Child, full and strong in form, has a serious, ingenuous and grand expression. The colouring is uncommonly warm and beautiful.

The Madonna della Tenda, in the possession of the 5
king of Bavaria. (There is a repetition of the picture 6
in the royal gallery of Turin, also said to be an original.)—A composition similar to the last, except that the Child is represented in more lively action, and looking upwards. In the background is a curtain, hence the name of the Italian picture.

* [Since purchased by the Emperor of Russia.—Ed.]

7 The Madonna and Child in the possession of Mr. Rogers, in London (from the Orleans gallery).—The Madonna, a half-length figure, youthful and noble, is seen behind a balustrade or low wall, on which stands the Child, who, smiling, nestles close to her, holding her round the neck. The picture has now lost its surface, and is interesting in a technical point of view, on account of the bright reddish undertint which is apparent.

8 A Madonna (half-figure) and Child, in the Stafford gallery*, in London (from the Orleans gallery).—The Child is stretched on her lap; she looks at him with maternal joy. The infant, in graceful and lively action, turns his little head upwards, and looks at her as if in deep thought, yet tenderly. Several old repetitions are in the Museums of Berlin, Naples, etc.

A series of similar, but in some instances more copious compositions, belong to a later period; they are in a great measure the work of his scholars, painted after his drawings, and only touched upon in particular parts by Raphael himself. Indeed many pictures of this class should perhaps be considered altogether as the productions of his school, at a time when that school was under his direct superintendence, and when it was enabled to imitate his finer characteristics in a remarkable degree.

9 In this class we must include the "Vierge au Can-
10 délabres" in the Palace at Lucca. The Madonna dell' Impannata, in the Pitti Palace, in like manner betrays the hands of assistants only. It appears to have been

* [Now the Gallery of Lord Francis Egerton, and generally so called.—ED.]

composed of several different designs by Raphael united. The two holy women who pay homage to the Child are very beautiful; the little St. John, on the contrary, who sits in the foreground, and points to Christ, wants the easy *naïveté* of Raphael. The Child is, however, softly and delicately painted. This picture, which is arranged more as an altarpiece than Raphael's other Holy Families, takes its name from the oiled-paper window in the background.

The Madonna del Passeggio, in the Stafford gallery, 11
formerly in the Orleans gallery, and yet earlier in that of Christina of Sweden, appears to have been painted by Francesco Penni. It represents the Madonna and Child walking in a landscape, and the little St. John about to kiss his playfellow. The children are peculiarly graceful, almost in Raphael's Florentine manner; but the drapery of the Madonna is heavy, and resembles the works of later artists. There are several repetitions, in the Museum of Naples and elsewhere. The same doubt may be expressed with regard to several pictures resembling each other in design, in which the Virgin raises the veil, with which the sleeping, or just awakening infant, has been covered. Those pictures in which the Child is asleep generally bear the name of "Silentium." La Vierge au Diadême, in the 12
Paris museum, belongs to this class. The Madonna, with a crown on her head, kneels before the sleeping Child; John adores at her side. There are imitations of the same subject more or less literal. In a picture said to have been originally at Loretto, but which dis- 13
appeared during the French invasion of Italy, the Child is represented awakening. A repetition of it is in the

gallery of the Louvre. In all these Holy Families of Raphael's later period, whatever part he may or may not have taken in their execution, there appears a pervading character of grand ideal beauty, which, as before remarked, is common to the other works of art of this age. We no longer perceive the tender enthusiasm, the earnestness and fervour of youth; but, in their stead, a cheerful, tranquil enjoyment of life, ennobled by the purest feeling. They are not, however, glorified holy forms, which impel us to adore; they rather show us the most interesting moments of domestic life, the accidental re-unions in a family, when the sports of graceful children attract the delighted observation of parents. The greater number of these pictures consist of four figures—the Madonna, the two Children, and either Elizabeth or Joseph. Among those pictures in which Elizabeth shares the mother's joy, are the following.

14 The Holy Family, known by the name of "the Pearl," in the Museum of Madrid: the most important, and, in composition, unquestionably the finest of Raphael's Holy Families. The figures, arranged in perfect harmony, form a beautiful group:—the infant Christ sits on the Madonna's knee, resting one foot on a cradle, in the foreground; John brings fruits in his panther's skin. Philip IV. of Spain, who had purchased the picture from the gallery of Charles I., is said to have exclaimed on seeing it, "This is my pearl!"—hence its name. A small Holy Family in the gallery of the
15 Louvre. The infant Christ stands in a cradle and ca-
16 resses John. (The execution attributed to Giulio Romano.) The so-called "Madonna col divino amore," in the Museum of Naples. The Child, on the Madonna's

lap, blesses John, while Elizabeth supports his little arm. The execution is very excellent, although by some attributed to Giulio Romano. In the same class probably should be placed the "Madonna della Gatta," in the 17
Naples Museum, executed by Giulio Romano after Raphael's death. It is a beautiful domestic scene extremely well composed*.

Among the pictures in which Joseph completes the group, are several in the Museum of Madrid. The Ma- 18
donna della Lucertola is particularly celebrated: Joseph leans on an antique architectural ruin; the young Christ turns to John, who holds up to him a strip of parchment with the words "Ecce agnus Dei!" The execution is attributed to Giulio Romano. A repetition, 19
marked as a copy by Giulio Romano, is in the Pitti Palace at Florence. It is hard and cold. A composition, in which the children hold a similar piece of parchment with upraised hands, appears to have been frequently repeated by Raphael's scholars. One of them 20
is at Stratton, the seat of Sir Thomas Baring; ano- 21
ther is in the possession of M. Nieuwenhuys, in London. To these may be added a Holy Family in the royal gal- 22
lery at Vienna. The Madonna kneeling holds the Child in her arms; John also kneels, and presents fruits; Joseph, leading an ass by the bridle, is in the act of raising John. The picture is freely and boldly painted. The Child is extremely beautiful, as is also the head of John.

Lastly, the large picture of a Holy Family in the 23
gallery of the Louvre, painted by Raphael in 1518 for Francis I., is peculiarly excellent. The Madonna

* [The composition is nearly the same as that of "the Pearl."—Ed.]

kneels to take up the Child, who springs joyfully out of the cradle; Elizabeth kneels also and folds the hands of the little St. John; Joseph, in the background, is in calm contemplation. At the side are two angels: one strews flowers over the Child, the other crosses his hands on his breast. The whole has a character of cheerfulness and joy; an easy and delicate play of graceful lines and the noblest forms, which unite in an intelligible and harmonious whole. Giulio Romano assisted in the execution.

24 To this cycle of Holy Families may be added the Visitation (of Mary to Elizabeth), now in Spain. The heads are very beautiful—Mary's full of the most graceful innocence and humility. On the other hand, the drawing of the draperies and figures appears to be less excellent.

A similar character pervades the larger compositions of this later period, which represent the Madonna as queen of heaven, though their destination as altarpieces naturally causes the religious character to predominate. With regard to these compositions, in which several Saints are assembled round the Madonna, it is to be observed, that although these holy personages were brought together arbitrarily (for various accidental reasons), yet Raphael has contrived to place them in reciprocal relation to each other, and to establish a connexion between them; while the earlier masters either ranged them next to one another, in simple symmetrical repose, or with equal caprice, disposed them in all kinds of attitudes, with a view to picturesque effect. Raphael has left three large altar-pictures of this kind, which are interesting examples of his various conceptions of the Madonna.

Of these the Madonna di Fuligno in the Vatican is the earliest, and about the same date as the Stanza della Segnatura. It was originally ordered for the church of Ara Cœli in Rome, by one of the court of Julius II.—Gismondo Conti—but was afterwards transferred to Fuligno—hence its name. In the upper part of the picture is the Madonna with the Child, enthroned on the clouds in a glory, surrounded by angels. Underneath, on one side, kneels the donor, raising his folded hands to the Virgin; behind him stands St. Jerome, who recommends him to her care. On the other side is St. Francis, also kneeling and looking upward, while he points with one hand out of the picture to the people, for whom he entreats the protection of the Mother of Grace; behind him is John the Baptist, who points to the Madonna, while he looks at the spectator as if inviting the latter to pay her homage. The relation between the picture and the community of believers, expressed by the last two figures, appears from this time variously modified in the altarpieces of the Catholic church. Between the two groups stands an angel holding a tablet, intended for an inscription. In the distance is a city, on which falls a meteor, or perhaps a bomb-shell; above it is a rainbow, no doubt in allusion to some danger and miraculous preservation, in remembrance of which the picture was dedicated*.

* [Providential escapes, victories and successes were among the most frequent occasions of what are called votive pictures. In these compositions the Madonna and Child are generally represented surrounded by Saints, the latter being selected for various reasons, according to the taste or devotion of the proprietor of the picture. The donor is frequently introduced kneeling, sometimes alone, sometimes with his family, and in many cases a patron saint

This work, however beautiful in the whole arrangement, however excellent in the execution of separate parts, appears to belong only to a transition-state of development. There is something of the ecstatic enthusiasm which has produced such peculiar conceptions and treatment of religious subjects in other artists—Coreggio, for example,—and which, so far from harmonizing with the unaffected, serene grace of Raphael, has in this instance led to some serious defects. This remark is particularly applicable to the figures of St. John and St. Francis: the former looks out of the picture with a fantastic action, and the drawing of his arm is even considerably mannered. St. Francis has an expression of fanatical ecstasy, and his countenance is strikingly weak in the painting (composed of reddish, yellowish and grey tones, which cannot be wholly ascribed to the restorer). Again, St. Jerome looks up with a sort of fretful expression, in which it is difficult to recognise, as some do, a mournful resignation; there is also an exaggerated style of drawing in the eyes, which sometimes gives a sharpness to the expression of Raphael's figures, and appears very marked in some of his other pictures. Lastly, the Madonna and the Child, who turn to the donor, are in attitudes which, however graceful, are not perhaps sufficiently tranquil for the majesty of the queen of heaven*. The expression of the Madonna's countenance is extremely sweet, but with more of the character of a

recommends the votaries. The ultimate intercession of the Madonna is, however, distinctly intimated by her appearing in the character of the 'Mater Dei.' When she is represented alone, her action is more directly that of a suppliant.—ED.]

* [This is one of the instances in which the severity of the author's criticism is unsupported by high authorities.—ED.]

mere woman than of a glorified being. The figure of the donor, on the other hand, is excellent, with an expression of sincerity and truth; the angel with the tablet sweet and interesting.

The second of these pictures, the Madonna del Pesce, has much more repose and grandeur as a whole, and unites the sublime and abstract character of sacred beings with the individuality of nature in the happiest manner. It is now in the Escurial, but was originally painted for S. Domenico at Naples. It represents the Madonna and Child on a throne; on one side is St. Jerome; on the other the guardian angel with the young Tobias, who carries a fish (whence the name of the picture). The artist has imparted a wonderfully poetic character to the subject. St. Jerome, kneeling on the steps of the throne, has been reading from a book to the Virgin and Child, and appears to have been interrupted by the entrance of Tobias and the Angel. The infant Christ turns towards them, but at the same time lays his hand on the open book, as if to mark the place. The Virgin turns towards the Angel, who introduces Tobias; while the latter, dropping on his knees, looks up meekly to the Divine infant. St. Jerome looks over the book to the new comers, as if ready to proceed with his occupation after the interruption. All the figures are graceful and dignified. The majesty and sweetness of the Virgin, the interesting sympathy of the Child, the thoughtful gravity of St. Jerome, the easy, bending figure of the Angel, the inexpressible *naïveté* of Tobias, all combine in beautiful harmony, and leave a refined impression on the feelings of the spectator. 26

27 The most important of this class is the Madonna di San Sisto, in the Dresden Gallery. Here the Madonna appears as the queen of the heavenly host, in a brilliant glory of countless angel-heads, standing on the clouds, with the eternal Son in her arms; St. Sixtus and St. Barbara kneel at the sides. Both of them seem to connect the picture with the real spectators. A curtain, drawn back, encloses the picture on each side: underneath is a light parapet, on which two beautiful boy-angels lean. The Madonna is one of the most wonderful creations of Raphael's pencil: she is at once the exalted and blessed woman of whom the Saviour was born, and the tender earthly Virgin whose pure and humble nature was esteemed worthy of so great a destiny. There is something scarcely describable in her countenance; it expresses a timid astonishment at the miracle of her own elevation, and at the same time, the freedom and dignity resulting from the consciousness of her divine situation. The Child rests naturally, but not listlessly, in her arms, and looks down upon the world with a serious expression. Never has the loveliness of childhood been blended so touchingly, with a deep-felt, solemn consciousness of the holiest calling, as in the features and countenance of this Child. The eye is with difficulty disenchanted from the deep impressions produced by these two figures, so as to rest upon the grandeur and dignity of the Pope, the lowly devotion of St. Barbara, and the cheerful innocence of the two angel-children. This is a rare example of a picture of Raphael's later time executed entirely by his own hand. No design, no study of the subject for the guidance of a scholar,

no old engraving, after such a study, has ever come to light. The execution itself evidently shows that the picture was painted without any such preparation. Proofs are not wanting even of alterations in the original design —the two angels in the lower part are very evidently a later addition by the master's hand. According to Vasari, Raphael painted this picture for the principal altar of St. Sixtus, at Piacenza—at least it was there in his time, and was only removed to Dresden in the last century. It has been supposed, with great probability, that it had been intended for a procession-picture*. We can easily conceive the elevating impression that this glorified appearance must have produced as it was borne slowly along over the heads of adoring multitudes, accompanied by the lights, the incense, and the sacred songs of the different orders.

To this class belongs also the Saint Cecilia, executed 28
in the earlier years† of Raphael's residence in Rome, and now in the Gallery of Bologna. It was originally in San Giovanni a Monte, and adorned the altar of the Bentivoglj, for whom it was painted. St. Cecilia is placed in the centre, surrounded by four Saints; St. John and St. Augustine behind her; St. Paul and Mary Magdalene in front, at the sides of the picture. Above, in the clouds, is a glory of angels singing hymns. At the feet of Mary Magdalene lie some musical instruments partly

* For the grounds of this supposition, see Von Rumohr, Italienische Forschungen iii. 129, etc.; and Drei Reisen nach Italien, p. 74, etc.

† [It appears to have been completed in 1516. The inscription in the chapel is comparatively modern, and hence, no authority. See Passavant ii. 181, *note*.—ED.]

broken; St. Cecilia raises her eyes to the Angels, and appears to listen to their songs. She holds a small organ reversed, with its tubes beginning to fall out, indicating, like the other scattered and broken instruments, the relation of earthly to heavenly music. St. John, an extremely beautiful head, regards the inspired countenance of the Saint with holy rapture: St. Augustine is more tranquil. St. Paul, a noble figure in very grand drapery, looks thoughtfully down on the instruments, whose sounds have ceased. Mary Magdalene, whose mild expression reminds us of Raphael's youthful pictures, turns to the spectator, directing his attention to the holy scene. There appears in the expression throughout this simply-arranged group a progressive sympathy, of which the revelation made to St. Cecilia forms the central point. Still that noble and beautiful countenance does not express all the sublimity and holiness which might be expected from the subject; and it can scarcely be supposed that this defect is entirely owing to the restorations, although they are said to be considerable.

Two more altar-pictures close this series: they represent single figures of Saints; two pictures with St.
29 Margaret as the Conqueror of the Dragon*. One is in the Gallery of Vienna. It represents the Saint at the moment when the fearful monster winds himself round her; she raises the crucifix against him. The picture seems to belong to the middle period of Raphael's residence in Rome, as we recognise in the attitude and ges-
30 ture the influence of Michael Angelo. The second is

* [The legend (from Simeon Metaphrastes) will be found in Lippomanus De Vitis Sanctorum, ii. 165.—Ed.]

in Paris, and is said to have been originally painted for Francis I. It is of Raphael's later time, and the greater part is by Giulio Romano. Here, Margaret stands on the wing of the dragon, and holds in her right hand the palm of victory. Her countenance expresses maidenly innocence and grace. Alas! this picture has been almost wholly destroyed by transferring it from wood to canvass.

The Archangel Michael, in the gallery of the Louvre, 31
is a very remarkable picture, also painted by Raphael for Francis I. in 1517. Like a flash of lightning the heavenly champion darts upon Satan, who, in desperation, writhes at his feet. The angel is clad in scaly armour, and bears a lance in his hands, with which he aims a deathblow at his antagonist. The air of grandeur, beauty, and calm majesty in the winged youth, the rapidity of the movement, the bold foreshortening of Satan, hurled on the lava rocks, have a most impressive effect.

In various galleries we find representations of John the Baptist in the wilderness, as a youth, seated fronting to the spectator, and pointing with enthusiasm to a cross which is erected beside him. The greater number, if not all, must have been executed by scholars, from drawings after the model, by the master (such as the one in the Uffizj at Florence, which is of remarkable 32
beauty). An excellent one is in the Gallery of Darmstadt; others are at Florence, Bologna, Paris, in England, etc. A good, and somewhat later copy, ascribed 33
to Francesco Salviati, is in the Berlin Museum*.

Two large historical altar-pictures still claim our at- 34

* Compare V. Rumohr: Ital. Forsch. iii. 135.

tention; they belong also to Raphael's later period. The earliest is the picture of Christ bearing the Cross, in the Museum of Madrid, known by the name of "Lo Spasimo di Sicilia," from the convent of Sta Maria dello Spasimo at Palermo, for which it was painted. Here, as in the tapestries, we again find a finely conceived development of the event, and an excellent composition. The procession which conducts the Saviour to Mount Calvary has just reached a turn in the road. He sinks under the weight of the cross; an executioner, who stands at the edge of the picture (a figure with powerful form somewhat ostentatiously displayed), endeavours to pull him up by the rope which is passed round his body. Simon of Cyrene, who met the procession, a figure of great power, turns angrily towards the executioner, and stoops to free Christ from his burden, while another, standing behind him, again presses it down on the holy martyr. The latter, regardless of his own grief, turns his face consolingly to the group of women who press near to him on the opposite side. The Madonna, her hands extended in despair towards her son, sinks on her knees, supported by John and Mary Magdalene. Behind them follows a procession of soldiers, from the gates of the city; a standard-bearer, who rides before the executioners, already turns in the direction of the mountain seen in the background. Amidst this combination of varied forms, the figure of Christ is kept distinct with consummate art, so that, though placed in a position so unfavourable, it displays a peculiar nobleness. The head, with an expression of the holiest patience and divine sorrow, forms the central point of the picture: the heads of the executioners, of Simon, and

of the women, surround it as in a half-circle*. Among the friends of the Saviour, the various degrees of sympathy are admirably expressed; yet (if it is allowable to judge from the engraving) we observe in some of the single heads, particularly the Magdalene's, something of the exaggerated sharpness of outline already noticed in the Madonna di Fuligno.

The later of these two pictures is the Transfiguration 35
on Mount Tabor, now in the Vatican, formerly in S. Pietro at Montorio. This was the last work of the master (not finished till after his death); the one which was suspended over his corpse, as a trophy of his fame, for public homage.

If the picture last described is distinguished, like the compositions for the Tapestries, by the dramatic development of an historical event, by the important prominence given to the principal incident, and by grandeur of style, the work now under consideration unites with these qualities a profounder symbolical treatment, which, in the representation of a particular event, expresses a general idea. In this instance it is the depth and power of thought which move the spectator, and which address themselves to him at once, so that he needs no key to explain the meaning of the subject. This picture is divided into two parts, the undermost of which, on account of its mass, is the more important and predominant. On one side are nine of the Disciples; on the other a crowd of people pressing towards them, bearing along a boy possessed with a

* [The composition of this picture is evidently imitated from Albert Durer. Marc Antonio had copied the German artist's designs for the "Passion."—Ed.]

devil. His limbs are fearfully convulsed by demoniac power; he is supported by his father, who appears strenuously to implore assistance by words and looks; two women beside him point to the sufferer, the one with earnest entreaties; the other in the front, on her knees*, with an expression of passionate energy. All are crying aloud, beseeching, and stretching out their arms for aid. Among the disciples, who are disposed in different groups, astonishment, horror, and sympathy alternate in various degrees. One, whose youthful countenance expresses the deepest sympathy, turns to the unhappy father, plainly intimating his inability to assist him; another points upwards; a third repeats this gesture. The upper part of the picture is formed by an elevation to represent Mount Tabor. There lie prostrate the three disciples who went up with Christ, dazzled by the Divine light; above them, surrounded by a miraculous glory, the Saviour floats in air, in serene beatitude, accompanied by Moses and Elias. The twofold action contained in this picture, to which shallow critics have taken exception, is explained historically and satisfactorily merely by the fact, that the incident of the possessed boy occurred in the absence of Christ; but it explains itself in a still higher sense, when we consider the deeper, universal meaning of the picture. For this purpose it is not even necessary to consult the books of the New Testament for the explanation of the particular incidents: the lower portion represents the calamities and miseries of human life—the rule of demoniac power, the weakness even of the faithful when unassisted, and points to a Power above. Above, in the bright-

* [Both the women are kneeling.—Ed.]

ness of Divine bliss, undisturbed by the suffering of the lower world, we behold the source of consolation and redemption from evil. Even the judicious liberties dictated by the nature of the art, which displease the confined views of many critics—such as the want of elevation in the mountain, the perspective alteration of the horizon and points of sight for the upper group (in which the figures do not appear foreshortened, as seen from beneath, but perfectly developed, as if in a vision), give occasion for new and peculiar beauties. In one respect, however, the picture appears to fail: it wants the freer, purer beauty, the simplicity and flow of line (in the drapery especially), which address themselves so directly to the feeling of the spectator; the work pleases the eye, the understanding, but does not entirely satisfy the soul: in this respect the picture already marks the transition to the later periods of Art. But this passing censure should be considered as only hinted at. Where such grandeur and depth of thought, such unexampled excellence, have been accomplished (and we have given but a very general outline), it becomes us to offer any approach to criticism with all humility.

We may not pass over a picture which Raphael had 36
undertaken in his youth (1505), but which was not painted till after his death by his heirs, Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni: it is the Coronation of the Virgin, painted for the convent of Sta Maria di Monte Luce at Perugia, and now in the Vatican. If any drawing of Raphael's was made use of, it could only have been for the upper portion of the picture, representing Christ and the Virgin enthroned on the clouds; this part, which is powerfully painted, and which in the figure of the Ma-

donna, represents at least a beautiful woman, is attributed to Giulio Romano. The lower part, executed by Francesco Penni, in which the Apostles are assembled around the empty tomb of the Virgin, is as weak and ineffective in composition as in execution.

§ LXXXII. We now proceed to the portraits, of which Raphael executed a great number in his best time. Their chief excellence, and the same may be said of those done in his earlier days, resides in their unaffected conception and characteristic expression; but later portraits display also the purest, most admirable execution, the more so as in the essential parts no assistance could be given by his scholars. The most interesting are—

1 Raphael's own likeness in the Gallery at Munich, formerly in the Casa Altoviti at Rome.—The artist, apparently about thirty years of age, wears a black cap over his long fair hair; he looks over his shoulder at the spectator; his hand lies on his breast. It is a glowing Italian countenance, full of sensibility; a slight air of melancholy plays over it, blended with a certain acuteness of expression. The execution is soft, with dark shadows*.

2 The Fornarina—Raphael's mistress.—The history of this person, to whom Raphael was attached even to his death, is obscure, nor are we very clear with regard to

* For the arguments against the supposition that this picture represents Bindo Altoviti, see Von Rumohr: Ital. Forsch. iii. 109; *ib.* p. 8, etc.

[Since the expression of the opinion of V. Rumohr, here alluded to, the clearest proofs have been collected that the portrait in question represents Bindo Altoviti, painted by Raphael. See Passavant; Rafael von Urbino, ii. 142.—ED.]

her likenesses. In the Tribune at Florence there is a portrait, inscribed with the date 1512, of a very beautiful woman, holding the fur trimming of her mantle with her right hand, which is said to represent her *. The forms are noble and pure; the painting extremely fine, resembling the Venetian manner; the hand and arm beautiful. The ornaments heightened with gold, and the gold lights in the hair are peculiar; still it has been doubted whether this picture is by Raphael, and whether it represents the Fornarina. At 3 least it bears no resemblance to the second picture of the Fornarina in the Barberini Palace in Rome, which bears the name of Raphael on the armlet, and of the authenticity of which (particularly with respect to the subject) there can hardly be a doubt. In this the figure is seated, and is uncovered to the waist; she draws a light drapery around her; a shawl is twisted round the head. The execution is beautiful and delicate, although the lines are sufficiently defined; the forms are fine, and not without beauty, but at the same time not free from an expression of coarseness and common life. The eyes are large, dark, and full of fire, and seem to speak of brighter days. There are some repetitions of this picture, from the school of Raphael, in Roman galleries. Other portraits which bear the name of the Fornarina may be passed over †.

* According to an hypothesis of Missirini (Longhena, p. 390), the picture was painted by Sebast. del Piombo, after Michael Angelo, and represents Vittoria Colonna, Marchesa di Pescara, the friend of Michael Angelo.

† [Passavant (Kunstreise, i. 225) prefers the portrait in the Palazzo Pitti.—ED.]

4 Pope Julius II., in the Tribune of the Uffizj in Florence.—The high-minded old man is here represented seated in an arm-chair, in deep meditation. The small piercing eyes are deeply set, under the open, projecting forehead; they are quiet, but full of unextinguished power. The nose is proud and Roman, the lips firmly compressed; all the features are still in lively elastic tension; the execution of the whole picture is masterly.
5 Several repetitions are to be met with: two are in the
6 Pitti Palace, and a very excellent one is in the Museum at Berlin.

7 Pope Leo X., with Cardinals de' Medici and de' Rossi, in the Pitti Palace, Florence.—The Pope sits at a table, the breviary open before him; the Cardinals are behind, on each side. The principal merits of this work are, the wonderfully characteristic expression of the three different heads, the truth of imitation in the accessories, and the mastery displayed in the manage-
8 ment of the general tone. There is an excellent copy by Andrea del Sarto in the Museum of Naples.

9 The Violin Player, in the Sciarra Palace, Rome.—A youth holding the bow of a violin and a laurel-wreath in his hand, and looking at the spectator over his shoulder. The expression of the countenance is sensible and decided, and betokens a character alive to the impressions of sense, yet severe. The execution is excellent—inscribed with the date 1518.

10 Joanna of Arragon.—Numerous repetitions of this portrait exist: that in the collection of Baron Speck, of Sternburg, Leipzig (formerly in the gallery of Count
11 Fries, at Vienna), is much esteemed; another is in

Warwick Castle; a third in the gallery of the Louvre. 12
This last, with the exception of the head, is attributed
to Giulio Romano*. A copy, by a scholar of Leonardo 13
da Vinci (falsely ascribed to the master), is in the
Doria gallery, Rome. Several repetitions are in other
places. These pictures represent a lady in the bloom of
beauty; she sits fronting the spectator in a splendid red
costume; the outline of the face and features is inex-
pressibly pure and soft; the hair, fair and rich, falls on
the shoulders; the large dark eyes, of velvet softness, are
turned to the spectator. Joanna was the daughter of
Ferdinand of Arragon, Duke of Montalto, and wife of
Ascanio Colonna, Prince of Tagliacozzo. She was sur-
named "divine," from her beauty. Three hundred poets
employed their pens to hand down her fame to posterity†.

The following also belong to Raphael's most intel-
lectual portraits:—Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, the same 14
head and attitude as that in the above-mentioned por-
trait of Leo X., and without doubt the study for it.
Count Castiglione—noble, chivalrous, dignified, full of 15
fire and life. A Youth, resting his head on his hand 16
with a pleasing carelessness. All three in the gallery
of the Louvre. Cardinal Bibiena writing, looking up- 17
wards with a serious, thoughtful expression. Fedra 18
Inghirami, Secretary to the Conclave: both in the Pitti
Palace. Francesco Penni, Raphael's scholar, in the 19
collection of the Prince of Orange, Brussels‡. But

* See the Essay of W. Gerhard in the Tüb. Kunstblatt: "Johanna von Arragonien." 1833. Nos. 15, 16.

† [See Vasari: Vita di G. Romano.—Ed.]

‡ [This gallery, since the accession of the present King of Holland, has been removed to the Hague.—Ed.]

many of the portraits which bear Raphael's name are entitled to this distinction only in a very subordinate degree; many even belong to an essentially different school. Among this class may be mentioned the portrait of the poet Tibaldeo, in the possession of Professor Scarpa at Pavia; Fed. Carondelet, Archdeacon of Bitunto, in the possession of the Duke of Grafton in London; that known in the Paris Museum by the name of "Raphael and his Fencing Master," by some attributed to Pontormo; the Two Lawyers, Bartolo and Baldo, in the Doria gallery at Rome, excellent heads, but more in the Venetian style, etc. A very interesting portrait, said to be that of Cesare Borgia, in the Borghese gallery in Rome, is ascribed to Raphael. If it represents Borgia, it must be the work of another hand, as appears also probable from the picture itself. The Usurper died in 1507, and had passed the latter years of his life in Spain, and Raphael could scarcely have been qualified to execute so admirable a portrait before his Florentine period *.

§ LXXXIII. With the exception of the portraits just enumerated, the works of Raphael hitherto described are for the most part representations from sacred history. Some subjects still remain to be mentioned, taken from the classic fictions of antiquity. Raphael did not employ these materials, as is now the practice, in an unprofitable, learned manner; he did not desire to reproduce the modes of thinking and feeling peculiar to the ancients, and which must be foreign to our modern conceptions;

* [For a detailed account of all these portraits see Passavant, Kunstreise, v. ii.—Ed.]

he regarded them merely as a bright play of fancy, which afforded an opportunity for the introduction of graceful forms as a pleasing embellishment for apartments devoted to festal purposes. In these productions therefore we again perceive the artist's peculiar feeling for beauty, which could here freely expatiate.

This style had been already aimed at in the subordinate decorations of the Vatican Loggie. It appears in a much more important form in some larger works, especially in the frescos in the Roman villa of Agostino Chigi 2 (a rich friend of the arts, for whom Raphael also executed the Sibyls in the Church of Sta Maria della Pace). This villa is in Trastevere, and now bears the name of the Farnesina, from its later possessors of the house of Farnese. On the ceiling of a large hall facing the garden, Raphael represented scenes from the story of Psyche; on the flat part of the ceiling are two large representations, with numerous figures,—the Judgement of the Gods, who decide the dispute between Venus and Cupid, and the Marriage of Cupid and Psyche in the festal assembly of the gods. In the lunettes of the ceiling are *amorini*, with the attributes of those gods who have done homage to the power of Love. In the triangular compartments between the lunettes are different groups, illustrative of the incidents in the fable. They are of great beauty, and are examples of the most tasteful disposition in a given space. The picture of the three Graces, that in which Cupid stands in an imploring attitude before Jupiter, a third, where Psyche is borne away by Loves, are extremely grace-

ful. Peevish critics have designated these representations as common and sensual, but the noble spirit visible in all Raphael's works prevails also in these: religious feeling could naturally find no place in them; but they are conceived in a spirit of the purest artlessness, always a proof of true moral feeling, and to which a narrow taste alone could object. In the execution, indeed, we recognise little of Raphael's fine feeling; the greatest part is by his scholars, after his cartoons, particularly by G. Romano. The nearest of the three Graces, in the group before alluded to, appears to be by Raphael's own hand*

3 In the same villa, in an adjoining saloon, is a fresco known by the name of the 'Galatea'; the greater part of this is Raphael's own work, and the execution is consequently much superior to that of the others. It represents the goddess of the sea borne over the waves in her shell; tritons and nymphs sport joyously around her; *amorini*, discharging their arrows, appear in the air like an angel-glory. The utmost sweetness, the most ardent sense of pleasure breathe from this work; everything lives, feels, vibrates with enjoyment. And here again the spectator recognises that perfect purity which is so true an element of beauty; the more so, since, with the exception of the group to the right of the goddess, the pencil has been guided by the master's own hand.

4 There is a series of engravings by scholars of Marc

* [The heaviness of the forms, the chief defect of these frescos, may be generally attributed to Giulio Romano: the colour, again, is not even that of Raphael's scholars, as the whole work was restored and much repainted by Carlo Maratti.—ED.]

Antonio, which represent the history of Psyche, differing from these frescos, but also ascribed to Raphael. Vasari names as their author the Flemish artist Michael Coxcie, who worked some time in Raphael's school. If these designs are not in general worthy of Raphael, there are some, and even the greater number of the separate groups, of sufficient beauty to warrant the conclusion that the scholar must occasionally have made use of the drawings of the master.

There are other very charming representations of mythical subjects in a villa built on the ruins of the palace of the Cæsars, known as the Villa Spada, and formerly under the names of Villa Santini, Villa Magnani; it is at present in the possession of Mr. Mills: some others are also in Raphael's own villa* (Villa Olgiati or Nelli). Among these subjects, that of the Nuptials of Roxana is particularly distinguished: there are also most graceful arabesques.

§ LXXXIV. In once more reviewing the immense number of Raphael's creations in painting, we must not omit, in addition to them, to mention, that he directed the works of St. Peter's, from his own plan, from the middle of the year 1514; that he had executed several other architectural works; that in the latter years of his life he was zealously occupied in superintending the exhumation of the monuments of antiquity, and in designing a restoration of ancient Rome; that he did not

* [No early authority speaks of this house as Raphael's villa: the decorations it contains are copied not only from Raphael, but from various masters.—Ed.]

even omit to undertake works in sculpture; and that he died in his thirty-seventh year. When we consider these facts, we shall be filled with astonishment at the inexhaustible creative power of this master—a power never equalled in its perfection. Other masters, in their single works, perhaps in a great part of them, may claim a place beside him, but in general they had not the energy to maintain such unvarying excellence. In this respect Raphael, without any exception, is the most distinguished of modern artists. And if, even in his case, we find some less perfect productions, some occasional tendency toward a more superficial manner, this only proves that, great as he was, he shared the lot of all that is human.

Raphael died of a short and violent fever; his delicate constitution, wrought to the highest degree of susceptibility by the unceasing activity of his mind and body, offered no resistance to the violence of the disease. Unutterable was the sorrow which filled all classes in Rome, high and low—the Pope, the court, the friends and scholars of the artist. "I cannot believe myself in Rome," writes Count Castiglione, "now that my poor Raphael is no longer here." Men regarded his works with religious veneration, as if God had revealed himself through Raphael as in former days through the prophets. His lifeless remains were publicly laid out on a splendid catafalque while his last work, the Transfiguration, was suspended over his head. He was buried in the Pantheon, under an altar adorned by a statue of the Holy Virgin, a consecration-offering from Raphael himself. Doubts having been raised as to the precise spot, a

search was made in the Pantheon in 1833, and Raphael's bones were found; the situation agreeing exactly with Vasari's description of the place of interment. On the 18th of October, in the same year, the relics were re-interred in the same spot with great solemnities.

[NOTE ON THE ORIGINAL SITUATION OF THE TAPESTRIES.

It was unnecessary to divide the tapestries of the Cappella Sistina into two series; they form in fact but one, and it is of importance to consider them in this light, as there is a second series (of which, indeed, the author proceeds to speak), done chiefly from designs by Raphael's scholars. The remarks that follow relate to the first entire series alone.

The general plan of the Sistine Chapel has been already described (§ XL. 15, *note*). The whole area, it was observed, is divided into two unequal parts by a white marble balustrade; the larger of these divisions, corresponding with the *narthex* in the old Basilicas, was appropriated to the presbytery. The frescos by Perugino and others on the walls below the windows, but still at a considerable height from the inlaid pavement, extended entirely round the chapel; the space underneath them was decorated with imitations of embroidered hangings, to represent the costly ornaments of this kind used in the ancient Byzantine and Roman churches. These decorations were separated at regular intervals by painted pilasters adorned with arabesques. Leo the Tenth, soon after his accession, appears to have conceived the plan of ornamenting the Presbyterium, or portion of the chapel within the balustrade, with real hangings. Eleven tapestries were accordingly executed under his auspices from cartoons by Raphael, and thus restored, in a far more perfect form, the ancient splendour of the Christian temples. The tapestries were separated, like the painted hangings, by pilasters in the same material, adorned with arabesques, and underneath the large subjects were narrower compositions in bronze colour, forming an apparent dado or socle. The new decorations were confined, as before observed, to the Presbyterium, thus giving it a more sacred character than the rest of the chapel.

At the altar was a tapestry representing the Coronation of

the Virgin (Passavant, ii. 258); above it still remained a fresco by Perugino, representing the Assumption. On the right (of the spectator, facing the altar), and on a line with the former subject, was the tapestry of the Conversion of St. Paul, and on the left that of the Calling of St. Peter (Miraculous Draught of Fishes); the first was under the fresco of the Birth of Christ, the latter under the fresco of the Finding of Moses (§ XL. 15, *note*). These six subjects filled the lower part of the altar wall before Michael Angelo's Last Judgement occasioned their removal, in the time of Paul III. On the right wall, next, and at right angles with, the Conversion of St. Paul, the order of the tapestries was as follows: the Punishment of Elymas, Paul and Barnabas at Lystra, Paul preaching at Athens, and the same apostle in prison during the earthquake. The last tapestry was much narrower than the rest, owing to the occupation of part of the space by the gallery of the choristers. On the opposite wall, beginning at right angles from the Calling of Peter, were Christ's Charge to Peter, the Martyrdom of Stephen, Peter and John Healing the Lame Man, and the Death of Ananias. The circumstance of the Pope's throne being on this side, again compelled a variety in the dimensions of the tapestries, and the Martyrdom of Stephen is thus of a much narrower form than the rest. These tapestries were copied in the colours of the Cartoons, but were more ornamented, the accessories being enriched with gold; the bronze-coloured designs underneath partly represented scenes from the life of Leo the Tenth. (For the account of the original situation of the tapestries, as above described, with the exception of the Coronation of the Virgin, see the interesting Essay by the Chevalier Bunsen in the Beschreibung der Stadt Rom., vol. ii. book 2. p. 408.)

It was before observed, that works of art done under the auspices of the Church of Rome, for the decoration of her temples, may be generally assumed to have reference either to Christ, the Madonna, or the Church. With the Acts of the Apostles the history of the Church strictly begins, and Raphael selected the Acts of St. Peter, those of the Apostle of the Gentiles, and the death of the first martyr, to illustrate the commencement of her power and of her sufferings; the Coronation of the Virgin might be considered the type of her triumph. The same conditions must be remembered with regard to the smaller subjects from the life of Leo, for to a Romanist they represented the history of the reigning successor of St. Peter,

and as such were strictly analogous. The associations connected with the original destination of works of art often add to their interest, or at least explain their intention; and it must be admitted, that the associations in this case are peculiarly important and striking; it is indeed but doing justice to the painter to be alive to them. The subject of the Calling of Peter, as we have seen, was immediately next the altar: whoever recollects, in the Cartoon, the deep humility and devotion in the expression and attitude of Peter kneeling in the boat before Christ, may now also call to mind, that, at the distance of a few paces, the 'Head of the Church' contemplated this scene from the highest of earthly thrones. These associations may be easily pursued by comparing the situation and import of the various subjects. The authority, the miraculous powers, the duties, and the sacrifices of the Church, the propagation of the faith, persecution, martyrdom—such were the warning and inspiring themes which Raphael placed around the papal greatness.

These associations and allusions would of course only be strikingly apparent when the works were in their original situations; and indeed, among the merits or recommendations of the Cartoons may be reckoned their being interesting in all places, and to all classes of Christians. But for this circumstance, perhaps we should not now possess them, for when the treasures of art collected by Charles the First were sold, and such pictures as were deemed "superstitious" even ordered to be "forthwith burnt" (Journal of the Commons, July 23, 1645), the Cartoons would hardly have been repurchased by Cromwell, to whom we are indebted for preserving them to the nation, if they could have been considered to come within the proscribed class.

With regard to the execution of these works, we have seen that Francesco Penni was Raphael's chief assistant. The co-operation of other scholars is also to be recognized, yet in almost all the Cartoons the hand of the master is apparent; most perhaps in the Calling of Peter (the tapestry from which was to occupy so important a place), and least in the Paul Preaching at Athens, and Christ's Charge to Peter. As designs, they are universally considered the finest inventions of Raphael; at the time he was commissioned to prepare them, the fame of Michael Angelo's ceiling, in the same chapel they were destined to adorn, was at its height; and Raphael, inspired with a noble emulation, his practice matured by the execution of several frescos in the Vatican, treated these new subjects with an elevation of style not perhaps equalled in his former efforts.

The highest qualities of these works are undoubtedly addressed to the mind, as vivid interpretations of the spirit and letter of Scripture; but, as examples of Art, they are the most perfect expression of that general grandeur of treatment in form, composition and drapery which the Italian masters contemplated from the first, as suited to the purposes of religion and the size of the temples destined to receive such works. In the Cartoons this greatness of style, not without a due regard to variety of character, pervades every figure, and is so striking in some of the apostles as to place them on a level with the prophets of Michael Angelo.—ED.]

CHAPTER V.

THE SCHOLARS AND FOLLOWERS OF RAPHAEL.

§ LXXXV. We have already remarked, that Raphael employed a great number of scholars and assistants; these endeavoured to acquire his style, and after his death transplanted it into all the various parts of Italy from whence they had poured into his school. The conquest and pillage of Rome by the French, in 1527, also contributed to disperse them. But this appropriation of Raphael's qualities by his scholars was a very questionable advantage; for as the style itself was founded essentially on his own peculiar feeling for the beautiful, on his own peculiar grace, it led to a mere imitation of his external forms; as if the spirit, the pure feeling, of which these forms are the expression, would necessarily be transferred into the imitation. The works of Raphael's scholars are consequently often cold, formal, and insipid; it is only in a few exceptions that an original creative spirit displays itself. On the whole, they do not possess the pleasing character of Leonardo's school, nor that of the followers of the

Venetian masters, of whom we shall soon have occasion to speak.

§ LXXXVI. The most celebrated of Raphael's scholars is Giulio Pippi, surnamed Romano (1492–1546). 1 He was an artist of a vigorous, daring spirit, gifted with a freedom of hand which gave life and animation to the bold and restless creations of his fancy. Among the paths of Art opened by Raphael, it was especially that of the Antique to which Giulio turned with the fondest delight, not only for the choice of his subjects, but with a view to make its forms and general style his own. But he altogether wanted the grace and purity of his master; and when the death of the latter freed him from restraint, his impetuous impulses began by degrees to awaken. At a later period, when he left the precincts and salutary influence of Rome, where the presence of the classic Genius seemed to control his taste, he soon displayed a wildness and even coarseness, in which we recognize no trace of the scholar of Raphael, except in the most general features of external form. His co-operation in Raphael's works has already been frequently alluded to.

About the period of the paintings in the Sala di Costantino, Giulio also executed some other frescos of mythical subjects in Rome; those in the Villa Lanti *, 2 which was built from his design, and a large frieze † in

* Peintures de la Villa Lante de l'invention de Jules Romain rec. par les frères Piranesi, dess. par Th. Piroli.

† Il Fregio di Giulio Romano dip. nella Farnesina, dis. ed. inc. da B. Pinelli. Roma, 1813.

3 an upper saloon of the Farnesina (the latter is at least, with great probability, ascribed to him); both are clever, sterling works, distinguished more by power
4 and life than grace and delicacy. An altar-picture by Giulio, painted immediately after Raphael's death for S. Stefano in Genoa, and still there, is a more important work*; it represents the martyrdom of the saint. He is placed very prominently in the centre of the picture—young and beautiful, and victorious over physical suffering—illuminated by the celestial light which streams down upon him alone. Near him sits the captain of the guard; Roman soldiers, somewhat more distant, are taking aim, and seem to follow each missile with their eyes; they thus give life and truth to this part of the action, without making it the principal point of interest; this naturally centres in the figure and admirable
5 expression of the saint. In the Dresden Gallery there is a Holy Family, of equal merit, belonging to the period when Giulio's independence commenced: the Virgin holds the child, standing in a vase, to wash him; the little St. John playfully pours in the water: the picture has thus a character of forward sportiveness; it is beautifully drawn and cleverly painted. The composition has been ascribed to Raphael; but, with all its excellence, it does not correspond with the blander feeling of this master.

6 Some years after Raphael's death, Giulio was invited to Mantua, where he exerted himself greatly as a painter and architect. He erected a great number of palaces and churches, directed their rich decorations in the style

* Compare Rumohr: Drei Reisen, etc., p. 304.

of Raphael's Loggie, and adorned them with large frescos; he assembled a great number of scholars around him, who took a share in the execution of his works. To his earliest labours belong, as it appears, 7
the paintings in the old Ducal Palace in the city; these works unfortunately suffered much in later storms of war. In an apartment on the ground-floor in the Uffizio della Scalcheria, are some very beautiful works; in the lunettes is represented Diana at the Chase, with very graceful and beautiful figures; in these we still perceive some reminiscence of Raphael's engaging *naïveté*: an upper saloon of the palace was filled by Giulio with 8
frescos from the history of the Trojan war; they are very inferior to those just mentioned, and already betray a marked insipidity of mind and manner. The artist still further departed from the noble spirit of his great master in the numerous frescos in the Palazzo del Te, 9
near Mantua: two saloons are especially remarkable for the number of paintings they contain; in one he represented the Overthrow of the Giants*, a performance in which he has been unadvisedly compared to Michael Angelo; the apartment is coved and oven-shaped, so that all sharp corners and angles are avoided: on the arched ceiling we look up into the temple of the gods who are assembled around; the gods of the winds are introduced in the pendentives; the giants are represented on the walls, crushed by the weight of rocks and buildings; they are indeed of an uncouth size, but destitute of real power. The second chamber repre-

* Giove che fulmina li Giganti, rappresentato in pitture da G. Romano, ecc., dis. et int. da Pietro Santi Bartoli. Roma.

sents the history of Psyche and other love stories of the gods; here, with very few graceful groups, we find an almost total indifference to beautiful and noble forms, as well as to pure colouring; and these faults cannot be altogether laid to the charge of assistants: a coarseness of conception is visible throughout, which, in some of the pictures (that of Olympia, for example!), can hardly be carried further.

Few easel-pictures by Giulio exist. Besides the works of his early days already mentioned, there are some beautiful large pictures of mythical subjects in
10 the Manfrini gallery at Venice, which contain many graceful features, though the general conception is
11 somewhat insipid. Several pictures are in the collections of Paris and England, but they are for the most part of no great importance.

The numerous scholars formed in Mantua by Giulio followed the unpleasing manner of their master, in some instances exaggerating it; in others, softening it by
12 greater simplicity and truth of nature. The most important are, the Mantuans—Rinaldo and Fermo Guisoni; a clever Crucifixion by the latter is in S. Andrea in Mantua. The miniature-painter Giulio Clovio:
13 a very neatly illuminated missal, painted by him for Cardinal Farnese, is in the library at Naples; the beautiful bronze-work on the cover is by Benvenuto Cellini. But among Giulio's scholars, the Bolognese Francesco Primaticcio deserves especial mention; he
14 executed the numerous stuccos in the Palazzo del Te, and was afterwards invited by Francis I. into France,
15 where he directed some decorations in the Palace of

Fontainebleau*, similar to those of Giulio at Mantua, and in general in a similar style: the king, as a reward, created him Abbot of St. Martin. Francesco's assistant and follower in these works was Nicolò dell' Abate, who 16
also adopted the style of the Raphael school. In his 17
native city, Modena, in the Palazzo della Commune, there is a series of paintings by him, in a simple, noble style, free from mannerism. The pictures he executed on 18
the walls of the Castle of Scandiano, from the Æneid†, have less merit. In the Gallery of Dresden there is a 19
large altar-picture by him, representing the Beheading of St. Paul; it is, however, more mannered than the works before referred to, and contains besides reminiscences of Coreggio, consequently of the school from which Nicolò had originally proceeded.

Another of Raphael's scholars was the Florentine 20
Pierino Buonaccorsi, called Perino del Vaga. In various collections we find his Madonnas, and other subjects more or less successful in their imitation of Raphael, but without his depth or beauty. After the sacking of Rome, Perino went to Genoa, and there decorated the Doria Palace in a style similar to that adopted by Giulio Romano at Mantua; he embellished it with the richest ornaments, stuccos, and frescos, the subjects of

* The principal work of Primaticcio at Fontainebleau, the Gallery of Ulysses, no longer exists. The historical representations are known to us by a work, "Les travaux d'Ulisse peints à Fontainebleau par le Primatice: par Theodore van Thulden. 1633." (58 plates, lightly and spiritedly etched.) [Fuseli (lect. 2) calls these etchings mannered and feeble.—Ed.]

† L'Eneide di Virgilio dip. in Scandiano dal celebre pitt. Niccolò Abati, dis. dal Gius. Guizzardi, inc. dal Ant. Gajani ecc. Modena, 1821.

the latter being taken from classic fables and histories. At a later period Perino returned to Rome, where he opened a great studio, in which however nothing but mechanical works were produced. Among the numerous scholars whom he formed at Genoa, Lazzaro and Pantaleo Calvi are favourably mentioned.

§ LXXXVII. Gianfrancesco Penni, surnamed "Il Fattore," the brother-in-law of Perino, was, with the exception of Giulio, Raphael's most confidential scholar. His
1 paintings are rare; in Naples, where he resided in his latter years, are some in which we recognize an unaffected, but not profound, master of the Roman school. The lower half of the Coronation of the Virgin, for Monte Luce, which he is said to have executed after Raphael's death, is scarcely above mediocrity. Penni left one scholar in Naples, Lionardo, surnamed "Il Pistoja," a Tuscan by birth. This artist, in the early part of his life, appears to have formed a style from the influence of Leonardo da Vinci's works, and to have after-
2 wards united it with the Roman manner; a Madonna and Child, in the Berlin Museum—a picture not destitute of merit—may serve as an example.

3 One of Raphael's most distinguished scholars, Andrea Sabbatini, of Salerno (Andrea di Salerno), an artist but little known, received his first education in the old school of Naples—the school of the Donzelli, Silvestro de' Buoni, etc.—and afterwards remained some time in Rome with Raphael. Family affairs soon recalled him to Naples, in 1513, and Raphael unwillingly parted with a scholar of so much talent. It is probable that this artist's short residence in Rome pre-

served him from the insipidity of manner so common to all Raphael's other scholars; it is only in the later works of Andrea that the degenerate Roman manner is perceptible, when other Roman influences (that of Penni among the rest) had given a new direction to Neapolitan Art. Andrea's works are almost unknown out of Naples: the Museo Borbonico and the churches of that city contain a great number. His earlier works are of the old Neapolitan school; in others the artist strikingly resembles Raphael in his youthful Florentine period. Among these are two extremely beautiful 4
little pictures in the Museum of Naples, from the history of S. Placido. There exist also several highly finished works, evincing a noble, refined feeling, and which are distinguished by their beautiful drawing, and light but warm colouring. The best is an Adoration of 5
the Kings, also in the Museo Borbonico. His later works, as before observed, are more superficial; but they too are excellent in some portions, particularly in the heads. These works, however, seem to have formed the style of his scholars and followers, amongst whom Fran- 6
cesco Santafede, and his son Fabrizio, are favourably distinguished. There are many works by them in Naples not altogether without merit. Giambernardo 7
Lama, a contemporary of Andrea, and also from the old Neapolitan school, belongs to the same class.

Besides Penni and Andrea di Salerno, a third scholar of Raphael exercised an important influence on Neapolitan Art—Polidoro Caldara (Polidoro da Caravag- 8
gio), originally a mason employed in the works of the Vatican. His predominant talent for painting was de-

veloped only at a late period; it is said that he and Maturino of Florence embellished the exterior of several palaces in Rome with paintings in chiaroscuro*; but as the remains of these works (in the antique style) correspond but little with the acknowledged productions of Polidoro, it is probable that Maturino was really their author. Among the paintings executed by Polidoro in
9 Naples, is a very important series from sacred history, preserved in the Museum. In these we find a singular and mannered imitation of the Roman style, united with a powerful, impassioned conception of common nature. At a later period Polidoro went into Sicily, and was much employed at Messina.

§ LXXXVIII. Many artists from the Bolognese school of Francia entered into that of Raphael, as Andrea di Salerno had entered it from an older Neapolitan school; they generally acquired a pleasing manner, but always retained, in a greater or less degree, the direction of their earlier teacher. Of these may be named Timoteo della Vite: like Raphael, he was born at Urbino, and returned there after a com-
1 paratively short residence in Rome. There is an extremely pleasing picture of his earlier time, before he joined Raphael, in the Gallery of Bologna: it represents a Magdalen; she stands in a cave, clothed in a red mantle; her hair flows to her feet, as she leans her head gracefully towards her left shoulder. The picture,

* Specimens in engraved works: Opere di Polidoro da Caravaggio, dis. et int. da Gio. Bapt. Galestruzzi. Roma, 1653. The Frieze of Casa Gaddi is engraved by Santi Bartoli.

though in the old manner, is extremely well executed; the drapery falls in large and beautiful folds; the painting is soft and warm, and the expression of the countenance full of feeling. Another early picture, in the Brera 2
at Milan, is less interesting. In Rome, some frescos in the small church of Sta Caterina di Siena are ascribed 3
to him; they are, however, so much effaced, that the general type only of the Roman school can be recognized. Timoteo's pictures are very rare; it is said, 4
however, that some good specimens are still to be seen in Urbino and the adjacent towns.

A second artist from Francia's school was Bartolommeo Ramenghi, called Bagnacavallo from his birthplace. He afterwards returned to Bologna, and transplanted the style of the Roman school to that city; his pictures also are rare in galleries. In the Gallery of 5
Bologna there is a Holy Family surrounded by saints, not powerfully painted, but pleasing in expression. In the Gallery of Dresden a Madonna, in a glory with 6
four male saints, bears his name—a picture of great and energetic expression. In another large picture of several 7
Saints, in the Berlin Museum, the former pupil of Francia is easily to be recognized, particularly in the expression of the heads. Biagio Pupini was an assistant of Bagnacavallo in Rome, and in his later works in Bologna*.

A third scholar of Francia, Innocenzo Francucci da 8
Imola, did not indeed reside in Rome, and remained but a short time in Florence (with Mariotto Albertinelli) after

* P. Giordani: Sulle pitture d'Innocenzo Francucci da Imola. Milano, 1819.

he had left his master's school, yet he became one of Raphael's most zealous followers; he has even repeated whole figures from that master's works into his own com-
9 positions. In the Gallery of Bologna, for example, there is a large altar-picture, formerly in S. Michele in Bosco, into which he has copied the Archangel Michael from Raphael in an indifferent style, and he has injudiciously placed close to this figure, which descends in impetuous flight, two saints, standing in tranquil attitudes. Hovering beside the Madonna are angels, also copied from Ra-
10 phael's "Disputa." An extremely well painted Holy Family, transferred to the Gallery of Bologna from the church of Corpus Domini, is more important than this celebrated picture; the composition is full of life, and
11 sufficiently resembles Raphael's style. One of his best pictures is in the Duomo of Faenza. The Berlin
12 Museum also contains a graceful picture by Innocenzo, but in this instance again the Madonna enthroned on clouds is an imitation of Raphael's Madonna di Fuligno; the expression of the saints below is thoughtful and noble. His small Madonnas and Holy Families are not unfrequent in galleries; they are in general easily recognized by the composition, in the style of the Roman school, and by the Francia-like expression of the heads.
13 To these artists may be added Girolamo Marchesi da Cotignola, who was formed in Francia's school, and painted for a long time in the old style. At an advanced period of his life he came to Rome, and adopted the manner generally practised there at the time*.

* [Several works, belonging to what is called the Raphael period of the Bolognese school, by Bagnacavallo, Innocenzo da Imola,

Primaticcio and Pellegrino Tibaldi (Pellegrino Pelle- 14
grini) were scholars of Bagnacavallo and Innocenzo da Imola: the former we have seen employed in France, and with Giulio Romano; the latter went to Spain, and transplanted the Roman manner into that country. His paintings, which occur but rarely in Italy, are distinguished by an unaffected grace and the expression of earnest feeling: the Marriage of St. Catherine, in the Gallery 15
of Bologna, is an example; and in the same style is a St. 16
Cecilia with two angels playing on musical instruments, half-figures, in the Belvedere gallery at Vienna *.

§ LXXXIX. From the old school of Ferrara (§ XLVII. 4, 14), Benvenuto Tisio (surnamed Garofolo from his native city) passed into that of Raphael; he was for some time a scholar of Lorenzo Costa, but appears to have imbibed little of that master's manner; his style is more that of the Ferrarese school, as we see it in the works of Lodovico Mazzolini in its highest perfection: in Garofolo it is to be traced in a rather fantastic mode of conception, and in a peculiarly abrupt and vivid colouring never wholly laid aside even after he had adopted the

Girolamo da Cotignola, and others, are in the possession of Mr. Edward Solly. In the same collection is an Adoration of the Magi by a scholar of Raphael from another part of Italy—Andrea di Salerno, already mentioned; and also a Holy Family by Timoteo della Vite.—Ed.]

* [Tibaldi might rather be classed with the followers of Michael Angelo; for if he was at first a scholar of Bagnacavallo (which is not certain), he never ceased to aim at the manner of Michael Angelo after having studied in the Cappella Sistina at Rome. The Caracci called him "il Michelagnolo riformato."—Ed.]

Roman manner. He was an extremely productive artist,
but rather mannered; his small easel-pictures are frequent
1 in galleries, particularly in Rome: a great number are
in the Borghese gallery; a large Entombment is among
them, less remarkable for its composition than for the fine
2 expression of the heads; and a still more excellent one
is in the Museum of Naples. In his works at Ferrara,
painted after his return, the Roman style predominates.
3 In S. Francesco at Ferrara there are several of his
large altar-pictures, some of great merit, and, among
others, a fresco representing "Christ Betrayed." In
4 S. Andrea also, at Ferrara, there is a large work by
Garofolo over the high altar.

Contemporary with Garofolo, the brothers Dossi, particularly Dosso Dossi, flourished at Ferrara; they too passed some time in Rome, but not till after Raphael's death. The works of Dosso very much resemble those of Garofolo, but they are more finished in the colour-
5 ing. His principal works may be said to be collected in the Dresden Gallery; among them is an admirable picture of the Four Fathers of the Church—in the upper part God the Father appears, blessing the Virgin.
6 Other Ferrarese masters of this period, such as Giam-
7 battista Benvenuti, surnamed "L' Ortolano," and Caligarino, followed a similar direction.

§ XC. We now return to Raphael's own school, where we still find some artists who deserve attention, espe-
1 cially Giovanni da Udine, who assisted Raphael in the arabesques of the Loggie, and in other decorative works. Giovanni was particularly distinguished in

representations of fruit, animals, birds, and still life of all kinds; he painted them so naturally, that a stable-boy, who sought in haste for a carpet to spread for the Pope, ran to the Loggie to take a painted one from the wall. After the sacking of Rome, Giovanni was employed in many other parts of Italy. In his old age he returned to Rome.

Pellegrino da Modena, Vincenzio di S. Gimignano, 2
Jacomone di Faenza, and others, were also scholars of Raphael. The two Milanese, Gaudenzio Ferrari and Cesare da Sesto, have been already mentioned. The companions of Raphael in Perugino's school, Alfani and Adone Doni, afterwards adopted the Roman style. Some northern artists also formed themselves under 3
Raphael, such as the Flemish painter Michael Coxcie, who endeavoured to imbibe the style of the great artist, and afterwards practised it in his native country; Georg Pens, originally a scholar of Albert Durer, etc. To conclude, we must not omit the influence which Raphael exercised on the art of engraving. In this department, Marcantonio Raimondi, or Marco 4
del Francia, of Bologna, is particularly distinguished: he received his first instructions in the art of niello from Francesco Francia, then turned his attention to engraving, and began by copying his master's works; he then imitated Mantegna, afterwards Albert Durer, and perfected himself in drawing under Raphael, who distinguished him with his favour, and allowed him to engrave his drawings. Marcantonio also engraved after Michael Angelo, Giulio Romano, etc., in like manner from their own drawings. Two of his scholars assisted

him in engraving after Raphael—Agostino Veneziano and Marco Ravignano: thus the art of engraving reached a high degree of perfection soon after its commencement in the studio of Raphael, through Marcantonio and his followers. In all that regards drawing and precision of outline, the engravings of this time have never been surpassed by later productions.

CHAPTER VI.

MASTERS OF SIENA AND VERONA.

§ XCI. The art of painting was matured in a peculiar manner in Siena in the beginning of the sixteenth century*. It has been already remarked (§ XXXI.), that Sienese Art, which in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had attained so elevated a position, remained far below the contemporary efforts of the neighbouring states in the fifteenth, when represented by Lorenzo and Sano di Pietro, Matteo di Giovanni, etc. At this period it received a new impulse from foreign influence. First, that of the Umbrian school; for example, in the important works of Pinturicchio, in the Libreria of the Duomo; but more particularly from the new style derived from the works of Leonardo da Vinci, which, after a time, was modified by occasional imitations of the Florentine and Roman styles. The works of two Sienese, Andrea del

* Compare Raccolta delle più celebri pitture esistenti nella città di Siena. Firenze, 1825; plate 1 after A. del Brescianino; plate 2 after Pacchiarotto; plate 3 after Razzi, etc.

Brescianino and Bernardino Fungai, resemble in a great degree the Umbrian mode of conception and treatment. Some few of their works are preserved in Siena: a large altarpiece by Brescianino, with very solemn and graceful figures, is in the Sienese Academy; a Coronation of the Virgin, by Bernardino, a simple, severe picture, is in the small church Fonte Giusta: with these artists may be classed Jacopo Pacchiarotto, who in most of his works is a successful imitator of Perugino; in some instances he is not deficient in a certain dignified grace, but in others he exhibits a modern manner not in unison with his characteristic qualities. Many of his works are in the Academy and churches of Siena, and the frescos in Sta Caterina and S. Bernardo deserve notice. In the former is a St. Catherine of Siena performing a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Agnes of Montepulciano, a picture remarkable for its tender earnestness and grace: two pictures in S. Bernardo, the Birth of the Virgin, and the Annunciation, are distinguished by the same qualities. 2 3 4 5 6

A more essential element was introduced into Sienese Art by Gianantonio Razzi, commonly called "Il Sodoma" —born about 1480, died 1554—one of the most attractive artists of his time: he appears to have been a Milanese, and to have been formed under Leonardo da Vinci; he afterwards settled in Siena, of which place he became a citizen. In his figures, particularly of women, he resembles Leonardo; they unite grace, tenderness and sweetness with an earnestness and fervour not to be found perhaps in any other artist. Had the sentiment of beauty been more fixed in his mind, had 7

his drawing and grouping been more correct, he would
8 have been one of the first artists of any time. The earliest known works of Razzi are the frescos in the convent of S. Uliveto Maggiore, where some had been already executed by Luca Signorelli. Here he appears severe, and evidently aims at individuality of character. At a later period he painted under Julius II. in Rome. His works in the Vatican, with the exception of some arabesques and ornaments on the ceilings, were soon
9 effaced, to make way for Raphael. A few of his pictures are preserved in the Farnesina, where he painted the Marriage of Alexander with Roxana, and Alexander in the Tent of Darius, in an apartment of the upper story. Here we see the most attractive and graceful female forms, although many of the details betray a want of practical skill and experience.

Razzi appears more important in his later works; his
10 best work is at Siena, in S. Domenico, in the chapel of Sta Caterina da Siena. On the altar-wall he has represented, on one side, St. Catherine in ecstasy; God the Father, with the Madonna and the infant Christ, appear to her, with several inexpressibly beautiful angels; on the other side of the altar the saint is represented fainting, supported by nuns, while Christ appears above. This is a very masterly picture; the pathetic expression of the figure and countenance is wonderfully beautiful. A third picture on a side wall is not remarkable as a composition, but excellent in the single figures.

11 Razzi executed another work of great merit in conjunction with Pacchiarotto (see the foregoing §) and an-

other Sienese, Beccafumi, in the oratory of the brotherhood of St. Bernardino: here the history of the Virgin is represented in figures larger than life in several pictures, divided by light pilasters; the greater part is Razzi's; his spirit pervades the whole, and even raises the works of his fellow-labourers to its own peculiar sphere. The best of these works are the Visit of Mary to Elizabeth, and the Assumption. There are also 12 frescos by Razzi in the public palace, and altarpieces in different churches of Siena. His works are rare in collections, and for this reason he is far less known than he deserves. In Florence there are excellent 13 works by him; for example, a St. Sebastian, in the Uffizj, a figure drawn in the noblest proportions, though very severe in colouring: in this last respect it is an exception to his general style, for a soft and warm tone is one of the characteristic beauties of his works; the expression of grief in the countenance is of the most touching beauty.

Michelangelo Anselmi (surnamed Michelangelo da 14 Siena) and Bartolommeo Neroni, who commonly bore 15 the name of Maestro Riccio, were scholars of Razzi. Two large paintings by the latter, in the Sienese Academy, already show the influence of the Florentine manner, and remind us but little of his first instructor. Domenico 16 Beccafumi (surnamed Meccherino) has been mentioned as having been employed with Razzi in the oratory of S. Bernardino: in those works he approaches to the noble, simple grace of his master: in the Sienese Aca- 17 demy there is a grand and beautiful altar-picture by him. In his latter works, however, he is more mechani-

cal, and only retains the beautiful external forms he had learned in Florence; but as his colours are always
18 clear and lasting, his pictures (some of which are preserved in the public palace in Siena) produce at least
19 an agreeable effect on the eye. One of the most interesting of his later works is the Pavement of the choir of the Duomo at Siena, which is formed of a mosaic of bright and dark marbles, with lines of shading in the style of niello. Older works of this kind, which are quite peculiar to this cathedral, are merely drawn, in a manner resembling niello.

This series of the Sienese artists closes with Baldassare Peruzzi (1481–1536), one of the best modern architects, and who, as such, fills an important place in the history of architecture; he also deserves honourable mention as a painter. His progress is similar in development to that of his Sienese contemporaries; for
20 example, there are paintings by him on the ceiling of the saloon of the Farnesina (in which Raphael painted his 'Galatea'), which rather lean to the early style of the fifteenth century, but contain some graceful and in-
21 teresting details. The paintings which he executed on the walls of the tribune in S. Onofrio in Rome, below the paintings of Pinturicchio in the semi-dome, are more important, yet still in the old style; they represent a Madonna enthroned with Saints—on one side the Adoration of the Kings, on the other the Flight into Egypt—and contain very graceful heads. At a later period Peruzzi adopted the Roman style, but sacrificed, in his efforts after external beauty of form, the artless grace which distinguished his early works. His prin-

cipal work at this time is a picture in the little church Fonte Giusta, at Siena—a Sibyl announcing the birth 22
of Christ to Augustus. The figure of the sibyl is not without grandeur, but the effect of the whole is cold. Peruzzi was distinguished in architectural decorative painting; the Farnesina (in Rome), which was built by him, contained beautiful examples of this style, but the decorations of an apartment in the second story are all that remain. The beautiful ornaments of the exterior, executed in green, have disappeared; and this graceful building, once so much admired, now makes but a poor appearance.

§ XCII. The Veronese Gianfrancesco Carotto 1
(about 1470–1546) may be compared to Razzi in the general tendency of his style, and the success with which he followed it up; like the Sienese painter, too, he is less known than he deserves. Out of Verona his works are very rare; but in the churches of that city, as well as in the Palazzo del Consiglio, there are ample materials from which an idea may be formed of his merit. He was educated in the school of Andrea Mantegna, but has little in common with him; he inclines much more to the manner of Leonardo, and must have derived his peculiar taste from the influence of that master: in his later works, however, there is an evident approach to Raphael's style; and in this instance, fortunately, it has not produced the injurious effects of which we have already given so many examples.

In his early works Carotto appears constrained, and 2
leans to the older manner, particularly that of Giro-

lamo dai Libri (§ LIV. 9); his best and maturest cha-
3 racteristics are seen in his works in the Cappella degli Spolverini, in St Eufemia at Verona. In the middle picture of the altar are represented the three archangels, in the side panels, two female saints; the expression in the heads of the angels is extremely mild and noble—that of St. Michael especially has an almost celestial purity: the upper portions of the figures are very beautiful, the lower limbs are less perfect. The two female saints have more of a statue-like severity, and are cold in expression. On the side wall, Carotto painted the History of Tobias: of these excellent pictures the lower one is especially graceful; the mother of Tobias embraces her daughter-in-law, while Tobias himself heals the eyes of his blind father. These frescos are, alas! in some parts painted over and much injured.

The warm and well-blended colouring of Carotto forms a peculiar contrast to the severe style of his drawing.

CHAPTER VII.

COREGGIO AND HIS SCHOLARS.

1 § XCIII. Antonio Allegri*, surnamed "Coreggio" from his birth-place, was born in 1494 and died in 1534: he probably received his first instructions in the school

* C. Gius. Ratti: Notizie storiche sincere intorno la vita ed opere di Antonio Allegri da Correggio, Finale 1781.—Pungileoni: Memorie istoriche di Ant. Allegri, detto il Correggio. Parma, 1817. Outlines in Landon: Vies et Œuvres, etc.; t. Coreggio.

of Mantegna; that is, from Francesco Mantegna, for Andrea died in 1506. The works of Leonardo da Vinci and his school appear to have exercised an important influence on the young artist, only however as a preparation for that manner which he afterwards formed for himself.

Coreggio is distinguished by a *subjective* mode of 2 conception, of that kind which may perhaps be best defined by the word sensibility, but which is not to be confounded with the false, lachrymose sensibility which has become so much the fashion in modern times: it is rather susceptibility, the highly-wrought capacity to feel, the liveliness of the affections, which are the pervading characteristics of Coreggio's works. These qualities lead to a peculiar treatment and choice of subjects. In his compositions all is life and motion, even in subjects that seem to prescribe a solemn repose, such as simple altar-pictures. All his figures express the overflowing consciousness of life, the impulse of love and pleasure; he delights to represent the buoyant glee of childhood—the bliss of earthly, the fervour of heavenly love; seldom does sorrow intrude into his world of joy, but it is so much the deeper from the artist's vivid capacity for the opposite feeling.

In the works of Coreggio there is, on the whole, little display of beautiful forms; the movements of his figures, which unceasingly produce the most varied foreshortening, are obviously opposed to it. So decided is his taste for these perspective appearances, that even a Madonna, seated in divine tranquillity on her throne, is represented by him as if seen from underneath, so

that in the drawing her knees appear almost to touch her breast. But, instead of form, another element of beauty predominates in Coreggio—that of chiaroscuro, that peculiar play of light and shade which spreads such an harmonious repose over his works. His command over this element is founded on that delicacy of perception, that quickness of feeling, which is alive to every lighter play of form, and is thus enabled to reproduce it in exquisite *modelling*. Coreggio knew how to anatomize light and shade in endless gradation; to give the greatest brilliancy without dazzling, the deepest shade without offending the eye by dull blackness. The relation of colours is observed with the same masterly skill, so that each appears in itself subdued, yet powerful in relation to others. But while Coreggio attained one of the highest summits of modern Art, it is to be observed, that this his peculiar excellence (as in the instance of Michael Angelo) leads him into many an exaggeration, and exposes him to criticism for many an error in drawing; and, what is far worse, that his expression of the passions borders not unfrequently on affectation*.

3 Of the early works of Coreggio few can be named with precision, except the large altarpiece, now in the Dresden Gallery, which he painted about 1512 for the Franciscan convent at Carpi: it represents a Madonna enthroned; on the left are St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua; on the right, St. John the Baptist and St.

* There is an excellent and characteristic account of Coreggio by Herr v. Quandt, in his translation of Lanzi's History of Painting in Italy, ii. 319, note 36.

Catherine. There is more repose and simplicity in this picture than in his later works: in the heads, particularly that of St. John, there are reminiscences, not to be mistaken, of the forms peculiar to Leonardo and his school. At the same time a certain constraint is apparent, especially in the expressions; while the execution is remarkable for great softness and a peculiar fusion of the tints, which afford sufficient evidence that considerable but now unknown works had been done at a still earlier period.

Two pictures in the tribune of the Uffizj at Flo- 4
rence are of little importance, except as proofs of a somewhat advanced development: one is a Riposo (the holy family resting during the flight into Egypt), in which Joseph breaks off a palm-branch for the infant Christ, while St. Francis kneels on one side in adoration; the other is a Madonna adoring the divine Infant. To this time belongs also a large Crucifixion at 5
Parma, which, though not a very grand composition, indicates, in some of the expressions, the peculiar tendency of the artist: the beautiful figure of Christ, and the head of the Madonna, who sinks down fainting, are touching representations of sorrow.

About the year 1518, Coreggio was invited to Parma 6
to paint a saloon in the convent of S. Paolo*, for the abbess. The subjects from ancient mythology, which he executed here, are among his most beautiful works: on the principal wall is Diana returning from the chase, in a car drawn by white stags; the light drapery of the goddess conceals but little of her perfect and youthful

* Pitture di Ant. Allegri detto il Correggio esistenti in Parma nel monistero di S. Paolo. Parma. 1800.

form. On the ceiling is painted a vine-arbour, with sixteen oval openings, in which are charming groups of *genii*, some with the attributes of the chase—horns, hounds, the head of a stag, etc.; some caress each other; some pluck fruits from the borders of the arbour. It is impossible to conceive more graceful attractive gaiety than in the figures of these *genii*. Underneath are sixteen lunettes in chiaroscuro, filled also with mythical subjects—the Graces, Fortune, the Fates, Satyrs, etc. The choice of these subjects for a convent appears strange; but in the beginning of the sixteenth century the nuns of Italy enjoyed the greatest freedom, without being shut up, while the abbess lived in princely splendour and luxury. In 1524, however, the nuns of S. Paolo were again forced to keep within their convent, and these works of Coreggio were withdrawn from the eyes of the public till modern times.

7 In the year 1520 the painting of the cupola of S. Giovanni in Parma was entrusted to Coreggio, and afforded an opportunity for the formation of a grander style. In the centre of the cupola he represented Christ in glory, suspended in air; the twelve Apostles, wrapt in adoring wonder, are seated on the clouds below; in the four pendentives are the four Evangelists and the four Fathers of the Church. This work exhibits great grandeur in the general arrangement and in detail; it is, moreover, the first remarkable display of foreshortened figures. The tribune behind the altar was also painted by him; this part, however, was pulled down in 1584, to enlarge the church: but the most
8 essential part of the composition, a Coronation of the Virgin, with saints and other figures, is known to us

from copies by Annibal Caracci now in the Museum of Naples; some fragments of the original also exist. These works were finished by Coreggio in 1524.

The peculiar style of Coreggio was carried to perfection in the large frescos in the cupola of the Duomo at Parma, executed between the years 1526 and 1530; the subject is the Assumption of the Virgin*. In the highest part of the cupola, on which the strongest light falls, Christ, a violently foreshortened figure, precipitates himself to meet the Madonna; lower down are several saints, male and female; these are also wonderfully foreshortened; still lower appears the principal group—the Virgin borne by angels in triumph. All this occupies but the upper half of the cupola. In the under part, between the oblong windows, stand the Apostles, some singly, some together, gazing on the ascending Madonna; over the windows are *genii*, some of whom bear lighted candelabra, others censers in their hands. In the four pendentives under the cupola are the four patron-saints of Parma, seated on clouds and accompanied by angels. The whole forms an innumerable host of saints, angels, etc., in full jubilee and pious joy; one tone of heavenly rapture is diffused over all, yet there is nothing wanting in the characteristic completion of the single parts. The effect is, however, almost too rich and boundless; all the figures are foreshortened, and as more limbs than bodies are visible from below, the artist, even in his lifetime, was jestingly told that he had painted a "hash of frogs" [guazzetto di rane].

Beside these great works, Coreggio executed a

* Engraved in a series of plates by G. B. Vanni. 1642.

number of easel-pictures, large and small, of which the following are the most important and best known.

10 One of his most beautiful and often-repeated small works is the Marriage of St. Catherine; it is one of the subjects in which the peculiar powers of the artist could unfold themselves in the happiest manner. The youthful saint (according to her vision) is betrothed to the divine infant, while the mother carefully superintends the holy rite*: an inexpressibly tender and child-like grace pervades the whole picture. The St. Catherine expresses the sweetest artlessness, the virgin mother the most fascinating benignity, and the whole is united
11 by great harmony of colour. One of the best repetitions is in the Museum at Naples; others (some of them perhaps old copies) are in the Gallery of Petersburgh, in the Capitol of Rome, in the Louvre, etc.; that in the last, however, differs from the others, and contains a fourth figure of St. Sebastian†.

12 An equally beautiful composition is the Virgin resting with the Child during the Flight into Egypt; it is called La Zingarella (the Gipsy), from the turban the Madonna wears round her head. The best copy is in the Museum at Naples: repetitions and copies exist in other places.

13 Other important paintings are in the Gallery of Parma; among these may be mentioned the fresco of a Madonna and Child, taken from Sta Maria della

* [This subject was comparatively late; St. Catherine of Siena died in the fourteenth century, and was not canonized till 1461. The painters appear to have improved on the legend. See the Acta Sanctorum, April 30.—Ed.]

† [In this picture the figures are nearly the size of life; the other repetitions referred to are very small.—Ed.]

Scala, executed at the same time as the cupola of S. Giovanni: the Madonna holds the child in her lap, regarding him with fervent tenderness; his arms are clasped round her neck; he looks toward the spectator: majesty and gentle grace, sublimity and tenderness, are most intimately blended in this picture.—The 14
Madonna della Scodella, a Holy Family resting on the Flight into Egypt: the picture takes its name from the cup which the Virgin holds in her hand; Joseph plucks dates from the tree. The composition resembles the first-mentioned picture in Florence, but is more highly finished and beautiful.—The St. Jerome (or "The 15
Day") is one of Coreggio's most celebrated pictures. The Madonna with the Child are near the centre; on the left is St. Jerome; an angel next him points out to the infant a part of the open book held by the saint; on the right kneels Mary Magdalene; she kisses the foot of the child; an angel is near her. The pure light of day is diffused over the picture; the figures seem surrounded, as it were, by ethereal light. The angel next to St. Jerome is extremely beautiful; other portions are, however, not quite free from affectation.—The Depo- 16
sition from the Cross (the body of Christ mourned by the three Marys and St. John): the arrangement is simple and grand, and the harmony of light and colour most beautiful: grief is not here depicted in its first overwhelming power, as in other pictures of this subject, but in that deep weariness and lassitude of spirit when tears have ceased to flow: here, as in other instances, one absorbing feeling prevails.—The Martyr- 17
dom of S. Placido and Sta Flavia is its companion, and,

like it, is distinguished by its simple arrangement and fine expression.

In the Gallery at Dresden there is an excellent series of altar-pictures by Coreggio*. The St. Francis has already been mentioned; the others belong to the
18 period when the artist's power was best displayed. We begin with the St. Sebastian: the Madonna with the Child is enthroned on clouds, surrounded by a circle of infant angels; underneath are St. Sebastian, St. Geminianus, and St. Roch: the angels are extremely graceful. The St. Sebastian is perhaps the most beautiful of
19 Coreggio's figures.—The *Notte*, the Holy Night (the Adoration of the Shepherds), is celebrated for the striking effect of the light, which, in accordance with the old legend †, proceeds from the new-born babe: the radiant infant, and the mother who holds him, are lost in the splendour, which has guided the distant shepherds. A maiden on one side, and a beautiful youth on the other, who serve as a contrast to an old shepherd, receive the full light, which seems to dazzle their eyes; while angels, hovering above, appear in a softened radiance. A little further back Joseph is employed with his ass, and in the background are more shepherds with their flocks. Morning breaks in the horizon: an ethereal light flows through the whole picture, and leaves only so much of the outline and substance of the forms apparent as is necessary to enable the eye to distinguish the objects.—
20 The St. George: a Madonna enthroned, with open archi-

* Compare Hirt: Kunstbemerkungen auf einer Reise nach Dresden, p. 45, etc.

† [See the Evangelium Infantiæ.—ED.]

tecture; St. George and St. Peter Martyr, St. John the Baptist and St. Geminianus at the sides; boy-angels play with the armour of St. George in the foreground. Throughout this picture, as in the St. Jerome at Parma, the clearest daylight is diffused. The details are less important—the angels, for example; they are perhaps unfinished, but the countenance of the Madonna is expressive of the sweetest and most gracious mildness; that of St. Peter Martyr is full of enthusiastic fervour and devotion. Beside the large pictures, the Dresden Gallery contains the universally-admired "Reading 21
Magdalen," and an excellent portrait, said to be the 22
physician of the artist.

Some of the most beautiful of Coreggio's pictures were formerly in Spain, but in consequence of the war with France, they are now principally collected in London*. The most important of these are, Christ on 23
the Mount of Olives, in the gallery of the Duke of Wellington. Here, as in the *Notte*, the light proceeds from the Saviour, who kneels at the left of the picture. Thus Christ and the angel above him appear in a bright light, while the sleeping disciples, and the soldiers who approach with Judas, are thrown into dark shadow; but it is the "clear obscure" of the coming dawn, and exquisite in colour. The expression of heavenly grief and resignation in the countenance of Christ is indescribably beautiful and touching; it is impossible to conceive an expression more deep and fervent.—The 24
Ecce Homo, half-figures as large as life, in the posses-

* See Passavant: Kunstreise durch England und Belgien.

sion of the Marquis of Londonderry*; Christ is crowned with thorns, and shown to the people: the attitude of Christ is extremely grand; the countenance of the Virgin, who sinks down fainting, pale with grief, is incomparably fine. The drawing in this picture is more
25 severe than is usual in Coreggio's works.—The Holy Family, in the National Gallery: the Madonna sits in a landscape; the infant Christ, on her knee, looks up with an expression of joy; in the background Joseph is seen working as a carpenter: a beautiful and delicately executed little picture.

26 Among the pictures still in Spain, Christ as a Gardener, with the Magdalene, is one of the most excellent: it is in the sacristy of the Escurial.

These works belong to the department of religious painting: another series represents scenes of ancient mythology; here the softness of female forms and the joys of earth are displayed with unrivalled skill. Among the first in this class are two pictures in the Berlin Mu-
27 seum: Leda with the Swan, sitting on the bank of a shady lake; on the left, *amorini* play on musical instruments;
28 on the right, maidens bathe:—and Io Embraced by Jupiter, veiled in a cloud. In these, as in the sacred subjects, every feeling is resolved into one pervading idea. It is the triumph of earthly love, indeed, which is celebrated in these pictures, but it is the joy of a nobler, freer race of beings, unacquainted with vice or falsehood. Both these pictures, as well as the Danae (to which we shall presently come), were formerly in

* [Now in the National Gallery.—ED.]

the collection of Queen Christina of Sweden; at a later period they passed into the celebrated Orleans gallery in Paris. The son of the Duke of Orleans, shocked at the voluptuous expression in the head of Io, had it cut out and burned! Another was afterwards substituted. Both pictures were bought by Frederick II. for his gallery at Sans Souci. When taken again to Paris, under Napoleon, the present excellent head of Io was painted by Prudhon*. An excellent 29
repetition of the Io, universally considered genuine, is in the Gallery of Vienna.—The Danae is in the Borghese 30
gallery in Rome: she lies half raised on a splendid couch; Love, a beautiful youth, sits beside her and catches the golden rain-drops in her drapery. In front of her couch, two *amorini* are employed with graceful *naïveté* in sharpening an arrow †. The form of Danae is modelled with exquisite softness, but the countenance has a less engaging expression.—Jupiter 31
and Antiope, in the Paris Museum: Antiope sleeps in a gracefully fascinating attitude; Love sleeps near her; Jupiter steals upon them in the form of a beautiful young faun.—The Education of Love by Venus and 32
Mercury, in the possession of the Marquis of Londonderry ‡. Here Venus stands erect, her beautiful and noble form fully developed; Love is a most charming, artless boy.—Ganymede borne through the air by the 33

* The head of the Leda also is new.

† [One is trying the gold on a touch-stone. See Mengs's description of the picture: Opere, ii. 148.—Ed.]

‡ [Now in the National Gallery.—Ed.]

Eagle, in the Gallery of Vienna, is also distinguished by a beautiful child-like grace.

§ XCIV. Coreggio had various scholars and followers, who endeavoured, with more or less success, to acquire
1 his style; among them are the following:—his son, Pomponio Allegri, distinguished by his somewhat simple drawing; Francesco Maria Rondani, censured for superfluous and trifling accessories; Michael Angelo Anselmi, already mentioned among the scholars of Razzi; Bernardino Gatti, distinguished for peculiar sweetness of colouring; Giorgio Gandini; Lelio Orsi, of Novellara; the last is considered as the best imitator of Coreggio.

2 A much higher reputation was gained by Francesco Mazzuoli (1503–1540), surnamed "Il Parmigianino*," son of Filippo Mazzuoli (already mentioned among the earlier masters as a clever painter of Parma); but his reputation dates from a period when the feeling for true artless beauty was nearly extinct. The dangerous tendency of Coreggio's style has been already pointed out—a danger which even he has not always escaped; but in Parmigianino action and feeling almost always degenerate into insufferable affectation and insipid coquetry. He is the more displeasing from endeavouring to unite with these peculiarities the noble forms of the Roman school, and the unnaturally lengthened propor-

* P. J. Affò: Vita del pittore Francesco Mazzolo, detto il Parmigianino. Parma, 1784.—Outlines in Landon: Vies et Œuvres, etc.; t. Parmigianino.

tions of his own figures. He succeeds best in portraits; an extremely beautiful one of a knight, said to be Columbus, is in the Museum of Naples; others are in various places. Here and there also we find a more simple Holy Family. Among his most celebrated yet most disagreeable pictures is the so-called Madonna with the "long neck," in the Pitti palace in Florence, and a St. Margaret in the Gallery of Bologna. Important frescos by Parmigianino are in the churches of S. Giovanni and Della Steccata in Parma: his cousin, Girolamo di Micchele Mazzuoli, was one of his scholars, and was, if possible, more mannered than Parmigianino himself.

CHAPTER VIII.

SCHOOLS OF VENICE.

§ XCV. We now approach the last prominent group of great painters, who, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, opened up a distinct mine of peculiar excellence in Italian Art—namely, the Venetians. We find in them, as in Coreggio, a remarkable technical preeminence. The Roman school was distinguished by beauty of form; Coreggio, by chiaroscuro; the Venetians of this period, like their predecessors who have already occupied our attention, were great in colour; it is chiefly this quality which gives the stamp of perfection to their productions: with admirable mastery they give the warmth of life to the colour of flesh, imitate

the splendour and brilliancy of different materials, and, if we may venture to say so, relieve light on light; but this technical skill is in them the expression of a characteristic and elevated conception; it is the enjoyment of life and of its splendour which speaks in all the nobler productions of this school. And although this general aim would appear to restrict imitation to familiar objects and circumstances, yet they knew how to penetrate life in all its aspects and in all its depths; and, on the other hand, to treat the grandest themes. For the rest, it is to be remarked that the Venetians, on the whole, painted very little in fresco, but chiefly in oil, in which method they executed pictures of the largest dimensions. The reason is evident, as the nature of oil-painting is much more favourable to their peculiar object than the severer methods of fresco.

A great number of Venetian artists were active in this general style, with more or less originality; two, however, stand at the head of the list—Giorgione and Titian, both scholars of Giovanni Bellini.

1 § XCVI. Giorgio Barbarelli of Castelfranco, commonly called "Giorgione" (born 1477, died 1511), was the first Venetian who cast aside the antiquated constraint of the Bellini school, treated art with freedom, and handled his colours in a bold, decided manner: his paintings generally have a luminous power and subdued internal glow, the sternness of which forms a singular contrast to the repose which prevails without; they may be said to represent an elevated race of beings, capable of the noblest and grandest efforts: this is more espe-

cially observable in Giorgione's portraits and characteristic ideal heads. Some of his most beautiful portraits 2
are in the Manfrini gallery in Venice: one, for example, representing a lady with a lute*; and a second, in which a Venetian cavalier turns to a lady; on the other side is a beautiful page. Giorgione's own portrait, in the Munich 3
Gallery, is also excellent; it is full of impassioned feeling, with a peculiar melancholy in the dark glowing eyes. Ideal heads, such as Saul and David, in the 4
Borghese gallery in Rome; David with the head of 5
Goliath, in the Imperial Gallery of Vienna, etc., are frequently to be met with†.

Even his sacred subjects show this same tendency: an excellent Madonna, in the Leuchtenberg gallery at 6
Munich, may be quoted as an example; she sits with the Child under a laurel-tree: a deep glow, tempered by a noble severity, pervades the picture.

Giorgione's works are, on the whole, rare; the frescos which he painted in Venice have all disappeared: his historical pictures are still more rare. Of these, the Death 7
of S. Pietro Martire, in the National Gallery in London, is an unimportant picture: one in the Dresden Gallery, 8
Jacob Greeting Rachel, has a graceful, pastoral character. In this class also may be included a picture of large dimensions removed from the School of St. Mark to the Venetian Academy. The subject is a sea-storm raised 9

* [The picture, fine as it is, has not the extreme glow of colour for which Giorgione was celebrated; this quality, however, is very remarkable in the specimen next mentioned.—Ed.]

† [Several pictures of the kind, that bear the name of Giorgione in galleries, are by his comparatively modern imitator Pietro Vecchia.—Ed.]

by demons, and which threatened destruction to Venice (1340), till its fury was assuaged by means of three saints; the picture represents a wildly agitated sea, and a ship driving before the tempest filled with figures of demons in the form of satyrs; St. Mark, St. Nicholas, and St. George embark in a small boat to oppose them. The demons, astonished, precipitate themselves into the sea to avoid them; some sit in the cordage of the vessel, others on the caps of the masts, which contain fire, the fumes from which spread over the sky and sea. In front is a bark with four naked satyr-like figures—glowingly coloured splendid forms, particularly the two sitting rowers, which are painted in a free and most masterly style. Fabulous sea-monsters emerge from the waves; on one rides a horned satyr; on the shore, in the distance, is a city; on the left, several spectators.

The conception of this picture is very singular, and in many of Giorgione's other works we find a peculiar poetic manner of treating his subject, which sometimes displays itself in allegorical allusions (not always easily understood), at others, in scenes which bear a close relation to what is called the "romantic *genre*." The allegorical pictures bear the stamp of his earlier period, and of the Bellini style. One of the most important of this kind attributed to him is in the Manfrini gallery in Venice. It is of large dimensions: on the left is a landscape, in which sits a beautiful woman clothed in white, at her feet is a naked child: on the right, in front of some architecture and a statue of Venus in a niche, sits an aged man, in oriental costume, at a marble table, on which lie a brass disc, compass, book, etc.; a young man in

armour leans near the niche*. In the gallery of the 11
Louvre is a peculiarly pleasing picture of the artist's more developed period. The scene is a landscape, in which are two young men and two women with musical instruments; one draws water from a spring. This picture has the same character of glowing life and a refined voluptuous feeling.

A picture in the Brera in Milan, very deserving of 12
notice, is perhaps one of Giorgione's most beautiful works: it is historical in subject, but romantic in conception. The subject is the Finding of Moses: all the figures are in the rich Venetian costume of Giorgione's time. In the centre the princess sits under a tree, and looks with surprize at the child, who is brought to her by a servant. The seneschal of the princess, with knights and ladies, stand around. On one side two lovers are seated on the grass; on the other are musicians and singers, pages with dogs, a dwarf with an ape, etc. This picture unites the highest earthly enjoyment and splendour, and the incident from Scripture only gives it a more pleasing interest. The costume, however inappropriate to the story, disturbs the effect as little as in other Venetian pictures of the same period, since it refers more to a poetic than to mere historic truth, and the period itself was rich in poetry; its costume, too, assisted the display of a romantic splendour. This picture, with all its glow of colour, is softer in the execution than earlier works of the master, and reminds us of Titian, the more successful rival of Giorgione—not,

* V. Quandt, in his Translation of Lanzi, ii. 66, *note*, recognizes in this picture also a scene from a novel.

like him, to be cut off by death in the very midst of his greatest efforts*.

Of Giorgione's scholars the most important was Fra Sebastiano del Piombo, already mentioned with Michael Angelo (§ LXVIII. 2). He made a successful approach to the manner of Giorgione, as we perceive in one of his
13 early and principal works. It is in S. Giovanni Chrisostomo in Venice, and represents the saint on a throne surrounded by other saints. It is an admirable work, and strongly resembles Giorgione in some beautiful women's heads. Fra Sebastiano is particularly eminent in his portraits, which are to be met with in various collec-
14 tions: a very beautiful one of Cardinal Pole, in the Hermitage at Petersburgh, is now ascribed to him; at an earlier period it was attributed to Raphael. In Rome Fra Sebastiano entered into a close intimacy with Michael Angelo, frequently painted from his cartoons, and appropriated much of his style of composition, modified by that of the Venetian school. This intimacy gave
15 rise to the celebrated picture of the Raising of Lazarus (in the National Gallery, London), painted in rivalry of Raphael's Transfiguration. Michael Angelo supplied some part of the drawing—namely, the group of Lazarus and those employed around him. It is a copious composition, not very remarkable for general keeping, but
16 with great beauty in parts. In the Pitti palace in Florence is a Martyrdom of St. Agatha, which, in the same manner, combines the composition of Michael Angelo

* [Among the undoubted works of Giorgione may be mentioned the once celebrated Entombment of Christ in the Monte di Pietà at Treviso; it is now nearly effaced in parts.—ED.]

with the colouring of the Venetian school. A very 17
beautiful Holy Family, at Stratton in England, is distinguished by the same qualities*. One of the most import- 18
ant specimens of his peculiar style is in St. Niccolo at Treviso—a Madonna enthroned, with six Saints around her.—Another scholar of Giorgione was Giovanni da 19
Udine, who afterwards went to Rome and entered the school of Raphael, with which he has been already mentioned. He found in the numerous decorative subjects of the Loggie, etc., constant opportunity to display his Venetian dexterity.—Another scholar was the Veronese Francesco Torbido, surnamed "Il Moro": his paintings are principally at Verona, and remind us a little of the earlier direction of the Veronese. In the Duomo of 20
Verona he painted scenes from the life of the Virgin, after the cartoons of Giulio Romano.

The influence of Giorgione was felt however beyond his own school, which was not considerable, and by his example several other artists were induced to adopt the new freer style of painting. Of these, Jacopo Palma (Vecchio) followed originally the style of Bellini, but at a later period adopted that of the masters of the sixteenth century; these, and more particularly Giorgione, he successfully imitated. Even in his early works he reminds us of Giorgione, by a certain severe style in the heads, although neither then nor at a later period did he

* [See Dr. Waagen's Kunstwerke in England, ii. 244. The fine altarpiece at Treviso, which the artist next mentions, is by Fra Marco Pensabene. Federici (Memorie Trevigiane) endeavours to show that Sebastian del Piombo may have been the painter; but the documents and other circumstances which he himself adduces disprove this.—Ed.]

21 reach the glow and power of this master. In the Academy at Venice there is a St. Peter surrounded by other saints, which, though one of his early productions, is
22 beautiful and dignified. In the same collection is also a pleasing Assumption of the Virgin, belonging appa-
23 rently to his transition-period. A very beautiful work of Palma in the Berlin Museum—the Madonna and Saints, half-figures—marks his transition from the early
24 to the later Venetian style. In the Gallery at Vienna there are some excellent pictures of his later time. The works of this painter are frequent in other places.

Rocco Marconi formed his style in a similar manner: some very pleasing pictures of his are to be seen in
25 Venice. An altar-picture of Christ between two Angels, in S. Giovanni e Paolo, still inclines to the old manner.
26 A very excellent and grand Descent from the Cross is in the collection of the Academy.

Reminiscences of the earlier school, accompanied however by a more pleasing execution, are also apparent in the works of some other masters; for ex-
27 ample, Lorenzo Luzzo da Feltre and Giovanni Paolo l'Olmo, by whom there are two good pictures in the Berlin Museum.

In this list may be included another artist, Lorenzo Lotto, who, originally a scholar of Bellini, endeavoured to imitate Giorgione, but afterwards became known as a follower of Leonardo da Vinci. These different in-
28 fluences appear in different pictures of the artist. Thus one in the Museum at Naples, inscribed with his name,
29 is in the style of the Bellini school; another in the Pitti palace inclines to the Milanese, and others to the later

Venetian manner. Several pictures in Venice are examples of this last style; for example, a St. Augustine with two Angels and other figures, in S. Giovanni e Paolo. His works in his native city (Bergamo) are less important. The credit of having painted the beautiful picture of the Death of S. Pietro Martire, in the church of Alzano, near Bergamo, has been lately denied him*.

§ XCVII. Giorgione's influence extended even to his contemporary and successful rival, Tiziano Vecellio, whose genius, however, was soon developed in all its originality†. Titian was born at Cadore, on the borders of Friuli, about the year 1477, and at first received a learned education. He lived in habits of intimacy with the philosophers and poets of his time—with Ariosto at Ferrara, Pietro Aretino at Venice, etc. Princes and nobles honoured him as the first of portrait-painters. Pope Paul III. invited him to Rome; but it was the emperor Charles V. who most frequently employed him, and whom he was obliged to attend twice at Augsburg. It is very doubtful if he ever visited Spain. He died of the plague in the year 1576, in his 99th year.

In the works of Titian Venetian Art reached its zenith. The austere and glowing force of Giorgione

* Rumohr: Drei Reisen, etc., p. 320.

† Breve compendio della Vita del famoso Tiziano Vecellio di Cadore, cav. e pitt., con l' arbore della sua vera consanguineità. Venezia, 1622. New edition: Vita dell' insigne pitt. Tizian Vecellio già scritta da anonimo autore, riprod. con lettere di Tiziano per cura dell' Ab. Franc. Accordini. Venezia, 1809.—Stefano Ticozzi: Vite de' pittori Vecellj di Cadore. Milano, 1817.—Northcote: The Life of Titian. London, 1830.—Outlines in Landon: Vies et œuvres, etc., t. Titian.

resolves itself in Titian into a free, open and serene beauty—a pleasing and noble idea of nature. All that has been said of the Venetian tendency applies with peculiar force to Titian. The beings he creates seem to have the high consciousness and enjoyment of existence; the bliss of satisfaction, so like yet so different from the marble idealizations of Grecian antiquity—the air of an harmonious unruffled existence, seems to characterize them all. Hence they produce so grateful an impression on the mind of the spectator; hence they impart so refined and exalted a feeling, although generally but a transcript of familiar and well-known objects—representations of beautiful forms, without reference to spiritual or unearthly conceptions. It is life in its fullest power—the glorification of earthly existence, the liberation of Art from the bonds of ecclesiastical dogmas*.

In his early works Titian appears as a follower of the style of Bellini, but he treats it from the first with a
3 peculiar power of his own. An Adoration of the Kings, in the Manfrini palace in Venice, is certainly one of his earliest works: it is a small picture, copious in composition, with many defects in drawing, but with an exten-
4 sive and clever landscape. A Madonna with Angels in the gallery of the Uffizj in Florence, and a pleasing little
5 Madonna in the Sciarra palace in Rome, evince a fur-
6 ther development. To this period also belongs a beautiful and simple picture in the Venetian Academy, re-

* [The elevated style of Titian's colour, which may be said to be on a level with the generalized forms of the antique, perhaps harmonizes best with subjects of beauty; but when united with the simplicity of composition and sedateness of expression for which he is remarkable, it sometimes confers a character of grandeur even on religious subjects.—ED.]

presenting the Visit of Mary to Elizabeth; and a very graceful Madonna and Child in the Gallery of Vienna. 7

The most finished and beautiful of Titian's early works, or rather one of his most beautiful of any period, is Christ with the Tribute Money (Cristo della Moneta), 8 painted for the Duke of Ferrara, and now in Dresden. In the head of Christ everything combines to produce the noblest effect—the union of the flesh tints, the delicate handling of the beard and hair, the graceful lip, the liquid lustre of the eye, the mildness of the reproving glance. The contrast of the crafty Pharisee is admirable.

Of Titian's more developed period the following are the most important and celebrated:—and first of the sacred class. One of the most excellent is the great Assump- 9 tion of the Virgin, removed to the Academy of Venice, from the church of Sta Maria Gloriosa de' Frari. The Madonna is a powerful figure, borne rapidly upwards as if divinely impelled. Head, figure, attitude, drapery, and colour are all beautiful. Fascinating groups of infant angels surround her: beneath stand the Apostles, looking up with solemn gestures. The expression of these figures is not, however, quite free from constraint. There is another Assumption, but not so im- 10 portant, in the Duomo of Verona. The way in which the single figure of the Virgin is borne up on the clouds without any attendant angels is here very beautiful.

But of all the pictures of this kind, by far the most excellent is an Entombment of Christ, in the Manfrini 11 palace in Venice. It is a highly finished masterwork, perhaps the most important of Titian's pictures, and the noblest representation of this subject.

The arrangement of the figures who carry the body is excellent, but the chief interest lies in the general expression of sorrow. One of the bearers is at the head, another at the feet of Christ; John, who stands behind, holds up the arm. On the left is the Virgin, sinking back fainting; Mary Magdalene supports her, but without turning her eyes from the Saviour. In this picture the highest beauty of form, and the most dignified expression in gesture, are united with the liveliest emotion
12 and the deepest and most earnest feeling. A repetition, equally beautiful, is in the gallery of the Louvre.

There are also excellent altarpieces by Titian—enthroned Madonnas surrounded by Saints, with pious
13 groups adoring at her feet. A fine specimen, of large
14 dimensions, is in Sta Maria dei Frari in Venice. Others of great excellence are in the Dresden Gallery.

Some small pictures of this class are arranged with greater freedom; in these the Saints sit or stand, or converse together. The Italians call such compositions "Holy Conversations." The object of edification is naturally lost sight of in these works; they are in general mere assemblages of interesting or powerful human beings, who often appear to be united by other interests
15 than religious ones. Excellent pictures of the kind are in Munich, particularly in the Leuchtenberg gallery.

Titian excels in those subjects in which the external repose of the figures affords an opportunity for the development of his peculiar excellence. Even in the Assumption and Entombment above mentioned this is observable, but it is less so in those more rare works in which an animated action is necessary. Such subjects

are foreign to his nature, and the constraint is evident. This constrained, almost mannered, character is apparent in his large painting of the S. Pietro Martire in S. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice; and again in the Christ crowned with Thorns, in Paris*. Yet the Martyrdom of S. Lorenzo, in the church of the Jesuits in Venice, which belongs to this class, has great beauties. Unfortunately this last picture, as well as the S. Pietro Martire, has been much injured.

Titian executed important pictures, principally of historical subjects, in the Palace of the Doge: they were

* [It has not been thought necessary to notice every instance where the judgements of the author differ from received opinions, but it is impossible to suffer the above remarks on the Pietro Martire to pass without at least observing that the majority of critics have long placed this picture in the highest rank of excellence. The Christ crowned with Thorns is unsurpassed in colour, but the Pietro Martire has been always considered as excellent in invention as in the great qualities which are peculiar to the painter. Having said thus much, it may be granted, that the author's general remark respecting Titian's superior treatment of grave subjects appears to be well founded, and instances of exaggerated action might undoubtedly be quoted. A certain imitation of Michael Angelo is to be recognized in some of Titian's works in the most vigorous period of his career; but this imitation seems to have been confined to qualities (such as contrast in action and grandeur of line) which were analogous to his own characteristic excellencies. The Friar escaping from the Assassin, in the Pietro Martire, is as fine an example of the union of these qualities in form as is to be found in the works of any painter; other instances were perhaps less successful. For the rest, the taste was not permanent in Titian: he returned to that "senatorial dignity" which Reynolds has pointed out as one of his prominent qualities, and in this view the remark of the author must be allowed its due weight.—Ed.]

destroyed by a fire which consumed almost the whole interior of the edifice, about the middle of the sixteenth
20 century. A fresco of St. Christopher, painted over a small staircase next to the chapel, is preserved. The head is fine; the rest of the figure very mediocre. In
21 the Palazzo del Consiglio at Verona, an historical picture of very large size is ascribed to him. In this the Doge of Venice is represented on a throne, on each side of which are the senators in red costume; on the right, the Sclavonian guard; on the left, in white silk habiliments, the councillors of Verona, delivering up the banner and keys of their city to the Doge. Above, in the clouds, is the Virgin, with St. Mark and S. Zeno, the patron-saints of Venice and Verona. The composition of this picture is not remarkably grand. In some parts (the figures of the saints for instance) the hand of an inferior artist is easily to be recognized. The portrait-heads are, however, very excellent and full of life.

In the representation of the naked female form, Titian displays peculiar mastery; the magic of his colouring is here developed in its fullest power. It must be remarked, however, that this very mastery over his materials not unfrequently betrays him into an ostentatious exhibition of it, so that where we look for artlessness, for example in the freedom of domestic retirement, we find sometimes a studied display of beautiful limbs.
22 This is very striking in a comparison between the two famous Venuses in the tribune of the Uffizj in Florence. The artlessness of one (she holds flowers in her hand—in an adjoining apartment women are taking garments out of a chest) powerfully fascinates the beholder;

the other (with Love standing behind), although dis- 23
playing equal mastery in the execution, leaves the spectator cold. For the rest, the first-mentioned is wonderfully true to nature: the figure appears quite surrounded by light, for she reclines on a white drapery before a light background, yet the forms are exquisitely rounded, and are very powerful in colour. Similar pictures are frequent—for example, at Dresden; in the gallery at Naples there is a beautiful Danae; another 24
is at Vienna; other specimens of the kind are in England: a celebrated picture is in the gallery at Cambridge; 25
in this instance Venus is personated by the princess of Eboli, and Philip II. playing the lute sits beside her. Other excellent pictures of a similar class are also in 26
England: two large ones of Diana and her Nymphs in the Bath are in the Stafford gallery; in one the subject of Actæon is introduced—in the other the Disgrace of Calisto. A charming picture of Venus rising from the 27
Sea, and drying her hair, is in the same collection. Another, of Venus endeavouring to keep Adonis from 28
the Chase, is in the English National Gallery. In the Barberigo palace, in Venice, there is a picture of Venus 29
(a half-figure), before whom Love holds a mirror. One of the most masterly pictures of this kind, in the Borghese palace in Rome, is known by the name of "Sacred 30
and Profane Love." Two female figures are sitting on the edge of a sarcophagus-shaped fountain: one is clothed in a splendid white garment in beautiful folds; the other is naked, a red drapery falls down behind her: the forms are pure and delicate. A picture of the greatest power 31
in this class is in the Munich gallery: it represents Venus, who is initiating a young maiden into the mysteries of

Bacchus. The principal figures are frequently repeated
32 in other works, for example, in a Venus with Hunting Nymphs in the Borghese gallery—undoubtedly only a picture from the school—and in another in the gallery of Vienna, which represents the Marchese del Vasto with his mistress and other figures.

Titian's highest merit is perhaps displayed in his portraits, in which he shows the noblest conception of nature. This consists in the same element of beautiful colouring, and especially in the admirable disposition of the figures, and just adaptation to the space allotted to them. These masterly portraits, to be found in all the fine collections in Europe, are very numerous. Among
33 the most beautiful are: a half figure of a female in rich costume, in the Pitti palace, called "La Bella di Tiziano;"
34 —another, in the Barberini palace in Rome, in splendid red and white costume: she leans musingly against a
35 pillar, and looks out of the picture:—several portraits of Ariosto; one is in the Manfrini gallery in Venice:—
36 several of Pietro Aretino, at Munich and elsewhere. One of the most excellent portraits is in the Berlin Museum—Titian's daughter lifting a plate of fruits. Of this
38 picture there are several repetitions. One is in the collection of Mr. Coesvelt, in London*: another is also in England, but instead of the fruits a jewel-box stands on
39 the plate: a fourth is in the Royal Museum of Madrid†, but here it becomes an historical representation; it is the daughter of Herodias, who carries the head of John

* [Now probably at Petersburgh, the other is in the possession of Earl de Grey.—ED.]

† See the author's Essay on these different representations in the Museum, Blätter für bildende Kunst, 1833. No. 30.

the Baptist in a charger: the costume is treated with more freedom, the action is more impassioned, and the whole is strikingly poetical.

In his later works Titian is somewhat feeble and 40
mannered; he persevered in painting even to extreme old age, slow to believe that his eye or mind had become weak. His latest work, not quite finished by himself, a Christ taken from the Cross, is in the Venetian Academy.

Landscape, in the hands of Titian and Giorgione, 41
sometimes assumed an independent character. It is said that Titian was the first to treat it as a separate branch of Art*.

§ XCVIII. This great artist formed very few scholars, but had many imitators. They endeavoured to adopt his style, and if they have left no work of the highest rank, they were at least preserved from the errors of mannerism by following nature in the path to which they were guided by him. Among these are many artists of his own family—his brother Francesco 1
Vecellio, by whom is a clever altar-picture in Berlin;

* [Landscape-painting in Italy, however independent in its perfection, appears in its origin to have been indebted, in more than one instance, to a German influence. Vasari distinctly says that Titian kept some German landscape-painters in his house, and studied with them for some months. In Bologna it is probable that Denys Calvart, a Flemish artist, first excited the emulation of the Caracci, Domenichino and others, who, in the end, formed so distinguished a school of landscape-painters. In both these instances a certain resemblance to the German manner, however differently modified by the character of the schools, is to be recognized, especially in the umbellated treatment of the foliage.—Ed.]

2 his son Orazio Vecellio, a distinguished portrait-painter; his nephew, the faithful companion of his journeys, 3 Marco Vecellio, by whom are some tolerably good 4 works in the palace of the Doge in Venice; also Girolamo di Tiziano, properly called Girolamo Dante, a good copyist of the master.

5 Bonifazio Veneziano is a clever mechanical master, of the Venetian school, a good imitator of Titian; Venice is very rich in his pictures. Among them, the most attractive by their ability and unaffected treatment are those of Saints, simply arranged, and Holy Families. In larger compositions he does not succeed; they want both the truth and energy of Titian, and the permanent force of his colours, yet there are many beauties in 6 single parts. In a large picture of the Rich Man's Supper, in the Academy, the groups of musicians, who, according to a pleasing custom of the Venetians, are never absent from such festivals, are particularly attractive from the truth of character and life of the heads.

7 Andrea Schiavone is another good imitator of Titian: a beautiful Adoration of the Shepherds, by him, is in the Gallery of Vienna.—Also Domenico Campagnola, whose great talent excited the jealousy of his master. 8 Four Prophets, half-figures, by this artist, are in the Academy of Venice, and more important works are at Padua.—Giovanni Cariani of Bergamo, originally a follower of Giorgione, deserves honourable mention: graceful pictures by him are to be seen in his native 9 city. The most excellent is a Madonna, removed from S. Gottardo, in Bergamo, to the Milan gallery during the French domination; we are uncertain if it

still remains there. The Madonna sits in a landscape, with a rich tapestry, supported by two angels behind her; a number of saints are on each side: simplicity of arrangement, and a pleasing cheerful character, distinguish this picture.—Geronimo Savoldo of Brescia is a not less clever imitator of Titian. A beautiful Adoration of the Shepherds, by him, is in the Manfrini gallery in Venice. A graceful female figure is in the Museum of Berlin.—Still more important than all these, is Calisto Piazza of Lodi; a number of his works are in the church 'dell' Incoronata' at Lodi: in purity of sentiment and depth of character they rank with the first works of the school.

Alessandro Bonvicino of Brescia, commonly called Il Moretto di Brescia, has a style of his own. He closely adhered at first to Titian's manner, but afterwards adopted a great deal from the Roman school, and by this union necessarily formed a peculiar style: it is distinguished by a simple dignity, a tranquil grace and stateliness. The somewhat grey tone of his colouring alone places him in a rank inferior to his contemporaries. He has left excellent works in his native city: a beautiful Coronation of the Virgin is in S. Nazario, and another picture is in the sacristy of the same church*.

The celebrated portrait-painter Giovanni Battista

* [Several works formerly attributed to other painters are now recognized as the productions of Moretto. A Madonna with Saints in the Fesch collection was once ascribed to Titian; and a Judith in the gallery of the Hermitage at Petersburgh is unaccountably engraved as Raphael's. We shall have occasion to notice another instance.—Ed.]

Moroni was the scholar of this Moretto; he flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century. His portraits are full of life, and are painted with great individual truth, but they are never conceived in an elevated feeling; hence his figures are limited in their attitudes—just, in fact, as they sat to the painter. Titian's portraits, on the contrary, are distinguished by the grandest picturesque roundness of composition and complete filling up of the space*. In his carnation Moroni has a certain tendency to violet tints, but is excellent in representing all the various materials of
16 dress, etc. His paintings are to be found in many galleries, the Venetian Academy, the Manfrini gallery in Venice, the Uffizj in Florence, etc. In historical pictures he is unimportant.

Contemporary with Moretto, in Brescia, flourished
17 Girolamo, called Il Romanino, an artist who likewise confined himself principally to the style of the Venetian school, but who modified it in a peculiar manner. While Moretto distinguished himself by simplicity and repose, Girolamo displays in his compositions a fantastic and lively imagination. At Brescia and Padua there
18 are some considerable works of his; the best at Brescia is in the palace of Conte Brugnoli, a Descent from

* [The superiority of Titian to Moroni may be readily admitted, but in choice of attitude and the absence of constraint the latter must be allowed a high degree of merit. It would be difficult to select a more remarkable example of this kind of excellence than the portrait miscalled 'Titian's Schoolmaster,' in the gallery of the Duke of Sutherland. Ridolfi tells us that Titian was in the habit of recommending the distinguished inhabitants of Bergamo to sit to Moroni for their portraits.—Ed.]

the Cross, remarkable for its lively expression. In the 19
Museum of Berlin there is an altar-picture with several saints and a great variety of accessories.

Girolamo Muziano, a scholar of Romanino, was em- 20
ployed at a later period in Rome, where he adopted much of the degenerated style of that school. Another, Lattanzio Gambara, is honourably distinguished by 21
historians of Art. His scholar, Giovita Bresciano, sur- 22
named Il Brescianino, was a clever painter in the later Venetian manner.

§ XCIX. Giovanni Antonio Licinio Regillo da Pordenone (1484–1539), so called from his birthplace, formed a manner independent in a great degree of Giorgione and Titian, and was a decided rival of the latter. He rarely rises to an animated style of composition*, but generally confines himself, even where such a treatment is least appropriate, to a simple arrangement of figures. His heads seldom exhibit any impassioned expression. His particular excellence is the wonderful softness and tenderness (*morbidezza*) with which he painted flesh: in this he is not surpassed even by Titian himself. He is distinguished in portrait-painting, and frequently introduces several heads into one picture; that of his own 1

* [This is hardly correct. In the town of Pordenone there are, or were a few years since, some very animated compositions by this artist, and he more than once painted the subject of Curtius leaping into the gulf on the outside of houses in and near his native place (see Maniago: Storia delle Belle Arti Friulane). The picture which the author proceeds to mention, in the Borghese collection, is by Bernardo Licinio: the name is inscribed. The Sta Justina in Vienna is attributed to Moretto (see Rumohr: Drei Reisen nach Italien).—ED.]

family is in the Borghese palace in Rome; another, of himself with his scholars, is in the Manfrini palace in Venice. His most beautiful work is in the Gallery of Vienna—Sta Justina, and a kneeling figure of Ercole, Duke of Ferrara. The countenance of the saint is wonderfully sweet, mild and full of soul; that of the duke is also fine. There are many excellent altar-pictures by Pordenone in Venice, particularly one in the Academy, a Madonna with Saints, very graceful and dignified. His celebrated S. Lorenzo Giustiniani attended by saints, a much less important work, was formerly in Sta Maria dell' Orto; larger compositions by him are to be met with, for example, in S. Rocco in Venice—saints, with groups of indigent persons around them; these, though exhibiting more life and action, are somewhat mannered in parts: many more are in Venice and other parts of Lombardy. 'The Woman taken in Adultery,' in the Museum of Berlin, is a very celebrated picture of his; not so much from its action or expression of emotion, as from the great truth of character in the heads.

His scholars were, Bernardino Licinio, a relation, similar in style, but generally less noble in his heads. A good altar-picture by him is in Sta Maria de' Frari in Venice: admirable portraits are in the Berlin Museum. —Calderari, an excellent imitator of Pordenone, and his son-in-law.—Pomponio Amalteo: his works, like those of Calderari, are frequently mistaken for Pordenone's*.

* [Pomponio Amalteo was an historical painter of merit. At Ceneda, near Belluno, there is a considerable fresco by him representing the apocryphal story of Trajan and the Widow. Other works of the kind by him are in the neighbourhood.—ED.]

A second distinguished portrait-painter is Paris Bor- 12
done (1500—1570): he also took a peculiar path. He formed himself on Giorgione's works, but avoided his severity. He is remarkable for a delicate rosy colouring, which indeed sometimes borders on effeminacy. His female portraits, of which there are many in the gal- 13
leries at Munich, in the Belvedere and Esterhazy galleries in Vienna, the Manfrini collection in Venice, the Uffizj in Florence, etc., are sweet and graceful, although not very intellectual in conception. Like Pordenone, he is unimportant in large compositions: in these the heads alone are excellent. His most celebrated picture 14
is in the Academy of Venice, and alludes to the Tempest, by Giorgione, already described. Here the fisherman who was present when the saints stilled the tempest presents a ring to the Doge, which he had received from St. Mark as a pledge of the patron-saint's gracious disposition toward Venice. The picture is rich in figures, simple, but not powerful in composition. His celebrated Paradise, also in the Academy, 15
formerly in the church of Ognissanti at Treviso, is very feeble. His small pictures, such as a Madonna 16
with the Child and Mary Magdalene, in the Manfrini palace, and a Riposo during the Flight into Egypt, in 17
the Pitti palace, are more pleasing.

§ C. We conclude this account of the Venetian artists who flourished toward the middle of the sixteenth century with Battista Franco, il Semolei, who studied in Rome, and is classed among the imitators of Michael Angelo. In the small number of his works existing in

Venice, he appears as a moderate follower of the Florentine or Roman style, which he combines well with that of Venice. He is particularly pleasing in small decora-
1 tions in the compartments of ceilings, as in the Scala
2 d' Oro of the Palace of the Doge, and in a chapel of S. Francesco della Vigna at Venice. In larger works (the most important are in this same chapel) he is more mannered.

1 § CI. The school of Venice continued to flourish, and to retain a real and vital originality for a much longer period than any other school in Italy. This superiority is to be attributed on the one hand to certain favourable external circumstances, and on the other to the healthful principle of the school, viz. the study and imitation of nature. It cannot be said that the artists of the second half of the century, whom we now proceed to consider, equalled in their collective excellence the great masters of the first, but in single instances they are frequently entitled to rank beside them.

2 At the head of these is Jacopo Robusti, surnamed from his father's trade Tintoretto (the dyer), (1512—1594). He was for a short time in the school of Titian, but not continuing on good terms with his master, he soon quitted him, in order to follow a path of study of his own. In the painting-room which he occupied in his youth he had inscribed, as a definition of the style he professed, "The drawing of Michael Angelo, the colouring of Titian." He copied the works of the latter, designed from casts of the Florentine and an-

tique sculpture, particularly by lamplight, to exercise himself in a more forcible style of relief; he made models for his works, which he lighted artificially, or hung up in his room, in order to make himself master of perspective appearances, so little attended to by the Venetians. By these means he united great strength of shadow with the Venetian colouring, which gives a peculiar character to his pictures, and is very successful when limited to the direct imitation of nature. Such are his altar-pictures with saints and adoring votaries; an excellent one is in S. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, 3 others are in the Academy. He is also successful in 4 portraits, of which there are many in different collections; two very distinguished examples are in the Mu- 5 seum of Berlin.

But studies so opposite in their tendency (for the 6 colouring of Titian and the drawing of Michael Angelo were results of very differently constituted minds), still more a singular facility in production, and a well-practised hand, led this artist into many errors, particularly unpleasing in his large compositions. In these, notwithstanding their animated treatment, we miss the feeling for that grand style of grouping which separates the whole into well-balanced parts, and ensures repose to the eye. He also fails to distribute the interest, so as to make all the actors participate in the general spirit of the subject; instead of this, figures are often introduced, apparently for no reason but to exhibit their muscular forms. Lastly, his execution in such works is often coarse and mechanical. But notwithstanding all this, even these less perfect productions generally

contain some features which afford sufficient evidence of the great talents of the artist.

Tintoretto was, as already observed, a very productive painter; Venice overflows with his works. Among his most celebrated, but not very pleasing pictures is
7 the Miracle of St. Mark, in the Academy: the saint rescues a tortured slave from the hands of the heathen.
8 A large Crucifixion, painted in 1565, is in the school of S. Rocco, which, as well as the Palace of the Doge, pos-
9 sesses a great number of his works*. In the latter there is also a remarkable representation of Paradise, seventy-four feet long and thirty feet high, painted in oil, as are all his works†. It is in the great Council-chamber, now the Library, and contains an innumerable and disagreeable crowd of human forms; but many parts of the work display great skill, and the principal figures, Christ
10 and the Virgin, are very dignified. Among the scholars and followers of Tintoretto, his son Domenico Tintoretto, and Jacob Rottenhammer, a German, are honourably mentioned.

§ CII. Several contemporaries of Tintoretto flourished

* [Reckoning the pictures in the ceilings (but without reckoning some heads in the angles), there are *fifty-seven* works by this astonishing painter in the Scuola di S. Rocco alone; the greater part are very large, and the figures throughout are the size of life. The Crucifixion is a most extensive work, and, all things considered, perhaps the most perfect by the master.—ED.]

† [A few single figures, formerly on the walls of the Palazzo Gussoni at Venice, it appears were painted in fresco by Tintoretto. See Zanetti: Varie pitture a fresco de' principali maestri Veneziani. Ven. 1760.—ED.]

in Verona; they stand in close relation to the school of Venice. Their principal pictures are to be seen in the churches, and gallery of the Palazzo del Consiglio in Verona. To these belong Niccolò Giolfino, whose 1
figures unite a peculiar grandeur with an expression of engaging gentleness.—Giambattista dal Moro, a scholar 2
of Torbido, called Il Moro (already mentioned among the followers of Giorgione): his pictures are impassioned, but somewhat exaggerated.—Domenico Ricci, 3
called Brusasorci, more celebrated in Verona than the last named, but a mediocre artist, though generally clever in execution.—Paolo Farinato, sometimes grand, and the 4
worthiest predecessor of Paolo Veronese, of whom we are about to speak. Farinato, though not always free from exaggeration, is clever and powerful, and is pleasing from his truth of imitation.

All these artists, and Tintoretto himself, are excelled by Paolo Caliari of Verona, surnamed Veronese (1528 5
—1588)*. He formed himself, particularly in colouring, after Titian. It is true he did not equal that master in the perfection of his flesh tones, but by splendour of colour, assisted by rich draperies and other materials, by a very clear and transparent treatment of the shadows, by comprehensive keeping and harmony, Paolo infused a magic into his pictures which surpasses almost all the other masters of the Venetian school. Never had the pomp of colour been so exalted, so glorified, as in his works; his paintings are like full concerts of enchanting music. Naturally this, his peculiar quality, is most decidedly and grandly deve-

* Outlines in Landon: Vies et œuvres, etc., t. Paolo Veronese.

loped in scenes of worldly splendour; not in dramatic animated subjects, nor in situations which require the expression of varied passion. He rather delights to represent festal meetings, rich banquets, suggested by particular subjects from sacred history; but these are treated with the greatest freedom, especially as regards the costume, which is always that of the artist's time. In these and similar examples we have the most beautiful display of grand architecture, the splendour of the precious metals in vases and so forth, the most brilliant and gorgeous costume; above all, a powerful and noble race of human beings, elate with the consciousness of existence, and in full enjoyment of all that renders earth attractive. The most celebrated of these scenes,
6 which he frequently repeated, are, the Marriage of Cana, in the gallery of the Louvre, formerly in the refectory of S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, thirty feet wide and twenty feet high. The scene is a brillant atrium surrounded by majestic pillars: the tables at which the guests are seated form three sides of a parallelogram; in the centre is a group of musicians, with the portraits of Paolo, Titian, and other celebrated masters; servants with splendid vases are seen in the foreground; spectators are on elevated balustrades, in the loggie, and on
7 the roofs of distant houses.—Christ at the table of Levi, in the Academy of Venice, formerly in the refectory of S. Giovanni e Paolo; a similar splendid table under
8 an open arcade, in the style of Sansovino.—A second
9 Marriage of Cana, in the Gallery of Dresden.—Christ at the table of Simon, Mary Magdalene at his feet, in the Durazzo palace at Genoa.

Paolo Veronese treated other subjects in a similar manner, when this manner was at all compatible with the nature of the incident represented; the galleries 10
of Dresden and Vienna contain examples. The vari- 11
ous pictures overladen with allegory, with which he adorned the Palace of the Doge in Venice, belong to the same class.

In altar-pictures he is in general less successful: religious edification was not the essential element of his style of Art: in these his attempts at grandeur often degenerate into an unpleasing mannerism; but there are pictures of the kind which contain fine details. A 12
very graceful one is in the collection of Signor Craglietto in Venice: it represents a Madonna and Child; Venice, personified as a beautiful young Dogaressa, kneels before them.

In mythological representations Paolo was sometimes happy. The Rape of Europa, for example, in the Palace 13
of the Doge, deserves especial mention.

His scholars, and the emulators of his manner, are 14
very inferior to him; among them are Carlo Caliari, his son, and Battista Zelotti.

§ CIII. While the application of the Venetian principle—the imitation of nature—had given so peculiar a direction to Paolo Veronese's style, it was to be expected that some would seek to render nature even in her commonest aspects, and that thus *genre*, as it is called, would also be cultivated. This accordingly took place in the school of the Bassani: its founder and chief master 1
was Jacopo da Ponte (1510—1592), surnamed Bassano

from his native town; he studied the works of Titian and Bonifazio in Venice, and at first practised in the manner of these masters. He afterwards returned to his native place, a small country town, whose environs appear to have first suggested his particular style of composition. He selected those subjects in which he could most extensively introduce landscape and cottages, peasants, and the lower classes of people. These he connected with events either from sacred history or mythology*, or often, without any particular reference to history, represented simple scenes of country life—cattle, markets, etc. Sometimes he omitted figures altogether, and introduced buildings, with animals, instruments of agriculture, kitchen utensils, and still life. These works show little variety of invention; when we have seen a few, we may be said to be acquainted with all that are in the various galleries: the countenances, too, are all alike; one of his daughters is at one time the queen of Sheba, at another a Magdalene, or again a peasant-girl with poultry, etc. For the rest, the humorous rather than sentimental treatment which gives its charm to the lower *genre* is almost wanting in the works of Bassano; he confines himself to a straightforward reckless imitation of familiar subjects, united however with pleasing grouping and an attractive play of

* [The figures in some of Giacomo Bassano's subjects are treated with sufficient dignity: the Good Samaritan, in the collection of Mr. Rogers, is an example. Among his finest works may be mentioned St. Martin dividing his Cloak with the Beggar, and the Baptism of Sta Lucilla, the former in the Municipalità, the latter in the church of S. Valentino at Bassano.—ED.]

light and colour. The chief interest of his pictures consists in the last-named quality. His colours sparkle like gems, particularly the greens, in which he displays a brilliancy quite peculiar to himself. His lights are boldly impinged on the objects, and are seldom introduced except on prominent parts of figures, on the shoulders, knees, elbows, etc. In accordance with this treatment, his handling is spirited and peculiar; and what on close inspection appears confused, forms at a distance the very strength and magic of his colouring.

Cabinet pictures of small dimensions, to which he chiefly confined himself, are rarely wanting, at least in Italian galleries; but these are not all genuine. He 2
had a regular manufactory for these works, in which he was assisted by his four sons, who had acquired his manner. Two of them, Francesco and Leandro, also painted church subjects, but not with much success. One 3
of Francesco's best works is among the ceiling paintings of the Doge's Palace at Venice (Sala dello Scrutinio), and represents the taking of Padua by night. A good 4
picture by Leandro, representing the Trinity, is in S. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice.

CHAPTER IX.

DECLINE OF ART.

§ CIV. While Venetian Art flourished in all the life of originality during the whole of the sixteenth century,

and even in the latter half produced works of such excellence as those of Paolo Veronese, the other great schools declined toward this latter period in a deplorable manner. Artists directed their attention to mere imitation, or rather to a spiritless and mannered exaggeration of the *motives* found in earlier master-works. In portrait alone, which necessarily demands an immediate imitation of nature, they produced some meritorious works, though not of that greatness and refinement which characterize the Venetians. We proceed to take a rapid survey of this not very attractive period.

1 The imitation of Michael Angelo became the first object of the Florentines. His grandeur was imposing, but it required much more than a mere habit of copying to comprehend his powerful spirit. Moreover, Florence possesses little of Michael Angelo if we except his works in sculpture; the greater part of these are not free from affectation, but these were the works from which the Florentines chiefly studied: they sought to imitate the muscular markings displayed by violent movements, without being sufficiently grounded in the necessary theoretical knowledge. Thus they were betrayed into numerous errors: sometimes marking the muscles with equal force in repose and in action, in delicate and in powerful forms. Satisfied with this supposed grandeur of style, they troubled themselves little for the rest. Many of their pictures consist of a multitude of figures, one over the other, so that it is impossible to say what part of the ground-plan they occupy; figures which tell nothing—half-naked models in academic positions. Heavy colours thinly applied, and

defective modelling, supersede the early energetic execution. The more important of these artists are:

Giorgio Vasari, of Arezzo (1512–1574), an artist of 2
versatile talent—historical painter and architect: he superintended several buildings, and directed their embellishments: Florence, Arezzo, Rome, Naples, are rich in the works of his rapid hand. The excellent portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici, in the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence, deserves notice. His greatest merit consists in his literary labours: his biographical account of the artists (Vite de' più eccellenti Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti), which he published in 1550, and in a second improved edition in 1568, was the first important work on the history of modern Art. This work is still the chief source for the history of his contemporaries and immediate predecessors; and if, in the compilation of these numerous memoirs, we do not find the accurate criticism demanded by the more advanced knowledge of the present day, we must confess that, in its agreeable style and the liveliness of the descriptions, the work has not hitherto been surpassed.

Francesco de' Rossi, surnamed 'de' Salviati' after 3
his patrons; a friend of Vasari, and allied to him in style.

Angiolo Bronzino, another intimate friend of Vasari, 4
an imitator of Pontormo, whom he resembles in portraits, but his colouring is often inferior—sometimes leaden, sometimes chalky, with a red that looks like rouge.

Alessandro Allori, nephew and scholar of Bronzino, 5
sufficiently mediocre.

6 Santi Titi, also a scholar of Bronzino, occasionally less mannered.

7 Battista Naldini, Bernardino Barbacelli, called Poccetti, and others.

8 The general corruption of the mannerists did not extend to the Sienese in an equal degree: Arcangiolo Salimbeni, Francesco Vanni, Domenico Manetti, and others, often display some cleverness in this degenerate period, with an ingenuous adherence to nature, although they never rise to the simplicity of the earlier masters.

9 One of the most spirited adherents and imitators of Michael Angelo is Marco di Pino, or Marco da Siena; he practised the Art in Naples, where many of his paintings are to be met with: they contain clever and spirited parts, with much that is affected and insipid.

10 But the completest degeneracy is to be found in Rome, the very place in which the greatest number of the most perfect models exist. Little deserving of record was produced here up to the last thirty years of the sixteenth century; and from 1570 till 1600, every variety of manner contributed by turns to reduce the Art to the very verge of ruin. Pope Gregory XIII. and his successors erected many buildings, ordered many paintings, but rapidity of hand alone had value in their eyes; Art was degraded to the lowest mechanical labour.

11 The best among the artists of this time are Girolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta, who endeavoured to adhere to the style of the Raphael school: there is an excellent Pietà by him in the gallery of Count A.

Raczynski at Berlin.—Taddeo and Federigo Zuccaro: both generally insipid and trivial, with a disagreeable smooth manner; yet we find in both the elements of considerable talent, particularly in works where portraits are introduced, which compelled them to adhere more closely to nature. This is evident in their historical paintings in the Castle of Caprarola*. Among other works, Federigo painted the cupola of the Duomo of Florence; it contains a multitude of figures, some of most colossal dimensions. A satire of the day concludes with these lines: 12 13 14

> Poor Florence, alas! will ne'er cease to complain
> Till she sees her fine cupola whitewash'd again.

But this has never happened. Federigo was also an author, and evidently wished to rival Vasari: he wrote a theoretical work on Art†, filled with "intellectual and formative ideas, substantial substances, formal forms," etc.: he calls philosophy and philosophizing "a metaphorical, allegorical drawing." Just as empty and inflated as these words, are the greater number of his pictures.

Giuseppe Cesare, il Cavaliere d'Arpino, is a better artist; he flourished, however, more towards the beginning of the seventeenth century. We find in his works less of the deplorable manner just described, and a reasonable clear colouring. He had a large school, by 15

* Illustri fatti Farnesiani coloriti nel Real Palazzo di Caprarola dai fratelli Taddeo, Federigo e Ottaviano Zuccari, dis. et inc. da G. G. de Prenner. Roma, 1748.

† L' idea de' Scultori, Pittori e Architetti: Torino, 1607. There are also other short writings by Zuccaro.

means of which he directed the Roman practice, and formed a decided opposition to other masters, particularly the school of the Caracci, to whom we shall presently come.

16 Similar degeneracy appears in Bologna, whither, as we have already said, the style of the Roman school was transplanted by the scholars and imitators of Raphael.

17 Prospero Fontana, Lorenzo Sabbatini, Orazio Sammachini, Bartolommeo Passerotti, are the most celebrated masters of this period, but are seldom more than empty mannerists.

18 Lavinia Fontana, the daughter of Prospero, has more merit; her painting is clever and bold: in portraits especially she has left some excellent works.

19 Dionisio Fiammingo, properly Denys Calvart, from Antwerp, who received his education in the school of Prospero Fontana, is among the better artists: he is certainly not free from mannerism, but is distinguished by a warmer colouring, which he probably brought
20 from his native country. Bartolommeo Cesi also deserves to be favourably mentioned, as his pictures, like those of Lavinia Fontana, show a closer attention to nature.

21 Lastly, Luca Longhi may be mentioned: he inclined to the old manner of Francia's school; but instead of the deep feeling of that master, we find in his pictures only an expression of an affected devotion.

22 In other places we find similar works and workmen: these may be passed over, with the exception of some artists of Genoa, where Perino del Vaga had spread the

Roman style. The brothers Andrea and Ottavio Semini may be mentioned, but more particularly Luca Cambiaso (Luchetto da Genova), who, notwithstanding much mannerism, occasionally pleases by a clever and sound conception of nature. From amongst the 23
Neapolitan mannerists of this time we must except Simone Papa the younger, who retained an agreeable simplicity, and distinguished himself by correctness of form: his most important works are the frescos in the church of Monte Oliveto at Naples.

BOOK VI.

RESTORATION AND SECOND DECLINE.

MASTERS OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

INTRODUCTION.

1 § CV. THE greatest Italian painters flourished at a period when the Papacy, the external representative authority of the Church, had attained the height of its worldly power, and when the Popes had assumed an important position among temporal princes. But this singular state of things had no sooner taken effect, than the contradiction which it involved necessarily became evident, and was in fact the cause of its fall. The secularization of the Papacy called forth reformations for Italy as well as for the North, which, after long struggles, were at last brought about. But the interval which preceded reformation and subsequent restoration had naturally a most ruinous effect on Art: the inward hold of a simple faith on the spiritual dignity of Art was lost, and was superseded by manner and affectation. In addition to this, various political troubles had taken place, the effects of which rapidly reduced the Roman and Florentine schools to that state of degeneracy which we have before had occasion to notice. The Venetian school alone, under the more favourable

circumstances already alluded to, maintained its greatness and importance for a longer period.

Toward the end of the sixteenth century these 2
political ferments had subsided. In Italy a new and powerful papacy had been established, which sought to awaken the spiritual tendencies in their ancient dignity, and to breathe a new life into Art*. But it was a period of restoration for Art as well as Politics; the age of free creative genius, restrained only by its own laws, was gone.

The greater number of artists of this time (the end 3
of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century) are known by the name of Eclectics, from their having endeavoured to select and unite the best qualities of each of the great masters, without however excluding the study of nature. This eclectic aim, when carried to an extreme, necessarily involves a great misapprehension with regard to the conception and practice of Art, for the greatness of the earlier masters consisted precisely in their individual and peculiar qualities; and to endeavour to unite characteristics essentially different at once implies a contradiction.

In opposition to these Eclectics arose another school, 4
which endeavoured to form an independent style, distinct from those of the earlier masters. This freedom was to be based on an indiscriminate imitation of com-

* Compare the excellent account of these circumstances by L. Ranke: Fürsten und Völker von Süd-Europa im 16 und 17 Jahrhundert, v. ii.:—also under the title: Die römischen Päpste, ihre Kirche und ihr Staat im 16 und 17 Jahrhundert, v. i.; Berlin, 1834, p. 492. [The latter translated by Mrs. Austin; London, 1840.—Ed.]

mon nature, conceived in a bold and lively manner. The artists of this direction are distinguished by the name of *Naturalisti*: each class exercised in its development a reciprocal influence on the other, particularly the *Naturalisti* on the Eclectics; and it is frequently impossible to distinguish, with perfect precision, the artists of one class from those of the other.

CHAPTER I.

ECLECTIC SCHOOLS.

§ CVI. THE most important of the Eclectic schools
1 was that of the Caracci at Bologna; its founder, properly speaking, was Lodovico Caracci (1555–1619) a scholar, first of Prospero Fontano, and afterwards of Tintoretto, in Venice. He passed his youth in constant and close attention to studies which had become a dead letter among the artists of the time, and which thus exposed him to much ridicule and contempt; but this only made it the more evident to him that reform was desirable, and that it had become necessary to introduce rules and well-understood principles into Art, to counteract the lawless caprice of the mannerists. But since, in such an undertaking, it was necessary to declare war against the superior strength of this undisciplined sect, he began by looking round for more powerful assistance: he found it in the persons of his two nephews, Agostino and Annibale Caracci (Agost. 1558–1601, Annib. 1560–1609). They were sons of a tailor: Agostino had been intended for a goldsmith, Annibale

for his father's trade. Lodovico observed the predominant talent for painting in both, and took upon himself to educate them as artists.

In concert with them he opened an academy at Bo- 2
logna, which bore the name of the *Incamminati*: this the Caracci furnished with all the necessary means of study— casts, drawings and engravings; supplied living models for drawing and painting, and provided instruction in the theoretic departments of perspective, anatomy, etc.; they superintended and directed the studies of their scholars (many of whom had had reason to complain of the superciliousness of the older masters) with judgement and kindness. In spite of the opposition of the established painters, the school of the Caracci was more and more sought from day to day, and it was not long before all the other schools of Art in Bologna were closed.

The study of nature, and the imitation of the great 3
masters, were the fundamental principles of this school. In aiming at the latter, they sought either to unite the separate excellencies of those masters in one style, or, in a somewhat ruder way, to treat single figures in their own pictures in the manner of this or that master, according to the character they wished to represent. There is a sonnet by Agostino Caracci, in which he defines the principles of the school agreeably to this system. He says,—"Let him who wishes to be a good painter acquire the design of Rome, Venetian action and Venetian management of shade, the dignified colour of Lombardy, the terrible manner of Michael Angelo, Titian's truth and nature, the sovereign purity of Coreggio's style and the just symmetry of a Raphael, the

decorum and well-grounded study of Tibaldi, the invention of the learned Primaticcio, and a *little* of Parmigianino's grace: but, without so much study and weary labour, let him apply himself to imitate the works which our Nicolo (dell'Abbate) left us here*." We have already

* " Chi farsi un buon pittor cerca, e desia,
Il disegno di Roma abbia alla mano,
La mossa coll' ombrar Veneziano,
E il degno colorir di Lombardia.

Di Michel Angiol la terribil via,
Il vero natural di Tiziano,
Del Correggio lo stil puro e sovrano,
E di un Rafel la giusta simmetria.

Del Tibaldi il decoro, e il fondamento,
Del dotto Primaticcio l' inventare,
E un po di grazia del Parmigianino.
Ma senza tanti studj, e tanto stento,
Si ponga l'opre solo ad imitare
Che qui lasciocci il nostro Niccolino."

[The above translation differs a little from that given by the author. The passage 'la mossa coll' ombrar Veneziano,' has been supposed to refer chiefly to Tintoret (see Malvasia quoted by Fuseli, Lectures, l. ii.). It is to be observed, that the word 'mossa' is a technical term still applied in Italy to attitude or action: thus the expression 'una bella mossa' is commonly applied to an academy figure. The peculiarity in Tintoret's attitudes (it is most remarkable in standing figures) is, that they are seldom parallel with the plane of the picture, but generally lean outwards or inwards. 'Venetian shade' was no doubt intended to be understood less exclusively. The management of shade in this school generally corresponds with the effects we see in the open air: the intensest darks are confined to hollows; all other shades are considered as lesser degrees of light: thus the mutable accidents of light seldom interfere with the permanent qualities of colour and form. The expression 'the just symmetry of Raphael,' was perhaps intended to relate to the balance of his composition and the shape of his masses; not merely to the proportions of the human form.—ED.]

remarked, that out of such heterogeneous parts no true whole can be formed. The combination of the technical excellencies which had been the result of an original and characteristic mode of conception in the great masters, might, in some fortunate instances, lead to correctness and good execution, but could never produce works animated by real feeling. External correctness is the character of the whole school; and this, in comparison with the manner of the immediately preceding period, is undoubtedly a great merit. But, among the productions of the Bolognese painters, we rarely find works which bear the stamp of a spontaneous and really satisfactory feeling*.

* [The opinion here expressed may perhaps now be consonant to that of the majority of critics, but during the last century the names of the Caracci were pronounced with greater reverence. This perhaps admits of explanation. The eclectic principle of those very skilful painters, so plausible in itself, had continued to influence succeeding artists of all nations who professed to follow the Italian taste; but the end proposed, as might be expected, was never again so fully attained, and the Caracci were, and still are, the unapproached representatives of the Eclectic school. The change in more recent times, with regard to the homage paid them has however been owing to a change of principle. It has been felt that, in the attempt to combine the excellencies, however great, of various minds, the chief recommendation of human productions, viz. the evidence of individual character, the moral physiognomy, which in its sincerity and passion atones for so many defects, is of necessity wanting: this is one reason why the Germans dwell so much on the unaffected efforts of the early painters, and is indeed a key to many apparently partial judgements of the author. The principle to which the taste of the present age leans would include all Art which is remarkable for spontaneous feeling and singleness of aim; and if critics

4 The merit of Lodovico is more that of a teacher than of an independent and productive artist. The greater number of his works are at Bologna, particularly in the gallery: in general composition they are seldom attractive or dignified; the ability they evince is rather
5 to be sought in single parts. Among the finest of those in the gallery is a Madonna, in a glory of Angels, standing on the Moon, with St. Francis and St. Jerome beside her (the picture was taken from Sta Maria degli Scalzi): the Madonna and Child are painted with peculiar grace, and with a happy imitation of the chiaro-
6 scuro of Coreggio. In the same collection there is a Birth of St. John the Baptist, with much that is attractive in the truth and artlessness of certain portions.
7 In the convent of S. Michele in Bosco, at Bologna*, he painted (with his scholars) scenes from the history of St. Benedict and St. Cecilia; these, in like manner, are occasionally beautiful, and even majestically graceful.

Agostino, on the whole, painted less; he was a man of learned education, and superintended the theoretical instruction of the academy. He is particularly celebrated
8 as an engraver. Among his paintings, the St. Jerome receiving the sacrament before his death (taken from the Carthusian church at Bologna) is the most important picture in the gallery. The composition, like that of all the great works of the time, has the appearance

differ, it is only in the predilection for peculiar qualities, for peculiar kinds of originality.—ED.]

* Il Claustro di S. Michele in Bosco di Bologna, dip. dal famoso Lodovico Caracci e da altri maestri usciti della sua Scuola; descr. dal Sig. Malvasia. Bologna, 1694.

of contrivance, but the picture has great truth of character, and contains much that is good in detail.

Annibale Caracci is by far the most distinguished of this family. In consequence of his studies in Upper Italy, we find an imitation of Coreggio, and afterwards of Paul Veronese, in his earlier works; but after his residence in Rome, the style of that school predominates. In the Gallery of Bologna there is a picture of his from 9
the church of S. Giorgio, in which the Madonna is in the manner of Paul Veronese; the Infant and the little St. John in that of Coreggio; St. John the Evangelist in that of Titian, while the St. Catherine resembles Parmegianino. We find similar *motives* in a large picture of 10
St. Roch distributing alms, in the Dresden gallery, one of his most celebrated works. Annibale is most happy in small compositions, such as Madonnas and Holy Families. A very graceful picture of the kind is in the Tri- 11
bune at Florence; another is in the Museum at Berlin. 12
A Pietà, often repeated, is very excellent. A Dead Christ 13
in the lap of the Madonna, with two weeping boy-angels; the picture is extremely well composed, and the Virgin particularly has something of the free dignity of the masters of the beginning of the century. A very beau- 14
tiful repetition of this picture is in the Borghese gallery at Rome, another is in the Museum of Naples. The 15
series of frescos of mythological designs in the Farnese palace at Rome*, and particularly in the so-called gallery of the palace, is generally considered his best per-

* These have been frequently engraved; the best work is: Galeriæ Farnesianæ Icones, etc., ab Annibale Carracio coloribus expressæ, a Petro Aquila del. inc. Romæ.

formance. Indeed these works may be considered the fairest criterion of the school; they contain a great deal that is masterly in the drawing, in the arrangement of drapery, and in the agreeable and clear colouring. The modelling of the forms and the management of the chiaroscuro are in many instances very happily achieved. But independently of the ostentatious study of Raphael and Michael Angelo, which is everywhere apparent, we especially feel the want of the appropriate life, the real capacity for enjoyment, which after all, in subjects of this kind, is absolutely essential. Thus, from the composition and gestures of the 'Galatea'—one of the many subjects represented—it is evident the picture was intended to express the fullest enjoyment of the senses; but its general expression is, on the contrary, cold and heavy, and the same may be said of other mythical subjects by
16 Annibale; but in many of them (for example, in the famous Bacchante in the Tribune of Florence, and in the Museum at Naples) the colouring is very masterly. The paintings in the Farnese palace were his last important works. The parsimony of his employers provoked his anger, and had an unfavourable effect on his health, which was utterly destroyed by a journey to Naples and the persecutions he encountered from the Neapolitan artists. He died soon after his return to Rome.

Beside his historical works, Annibale was one of the first who practised landscape-painting as a separate de-
17 partment of Art. His landscapes want, however, the charm of later works of the kind: they have rather the
18 character of well-conceived decorations: many are in the Doria palace in Rome, and there is one, of very pow-

erful effect and poetic composition, in the Museum of Berlin.

A number of important artists sprang from the school of the Caracci, with various peculiarities of style, and in some respects they surpassed their masters. The most celebrated are the following.

§ CVII. Domenico Zampieri, surnamed Domenichino* (1581–1641), a painter in whose works, more than in those of any other artist of the time, we occasionally observe the pure artlessness, the free conception of nature, which were peculiar to the contemporaries of Raphael. Even Domenichino, on the whole, and in essentials, could never cast aside the trammels of his school: this indeed was to be the less expected, as he does not appear to have been gifted with a particularly rich fancy. He frequently made use of the compositions of other artists,—as in his celebrated picture of the Communion of St. Jerome, now in the Vatican—in which we find a close imitation of the same subject by Agostino Caracci. The imitation is not however servile, and there is an interesting individuality in several of the heads. If an enthusiastic state of mind, a lofty conception of life, or a grand and animated scene, is to be represented, Domenichino is cold and insipid, and theatrical in arrangement; on the other hand, the accessory figures introduced as spectators, who may be supposed to take less interest in the event, are often very graceful, and in a nobler style of beauty. Of this the two frescos in S. Luigi at Rome, from the life of St. Cecilia, are striking examples. His 1 2 3

* Outlines in Landon: Vies et œuvres, etc., t. Domenichino.

4 most beautiful works are at Fano, in a chapel of the Duomo; they represent scenes from the life of the Virgin, painted in fresco. They have suffered from the smoke, when part of the church was burnt; but we can perceive, in the Visit of Mary to Elizabeth—the best-preserved picture—a feeling for beauty, a purity, candour, and mildness of expression, such as are perhaps not to be met with in any of his other works.
5 There are many beautiful parts in the frescos, from the history of St. Nilus, which Domenichino painted
6 at Grottaferrata*, near Rome, and likewise in those of S. Andrea della Valle, at Rome, particularly the historical scenes on the ceiling of the tribune; they are not, however, free from the faults above mentioned.
7 His great altar-pictures, selected and brought together in the Gallery of Bologna, contain little more than theatrical attitudes.

8 Another of Domenichino's best works, an oil-painting in the Borghese gallery in Rome, represents Diana and her nymphs, some of whom are shooting at a mark with arrows, others are bathing—a very pleasing composition, peculiarly fine in its lines and full of characteristic movement; but even here the expression of the faces is not equally natural throughout. Like Annibale Caracci, Domenichino was invited to Naples; like him too he was persecuted by the Neapolitan painters, who
9 would tolerate no strangers. Of his works in Naples, the most important are in the chapel of the Tesoro in the Duomo. He died before their completion—it is

* Picturæ Domenici Zampierii quæ extant in Sacello sacræ ædi Chryptoferratensi adjuncto. Romæ, 1762.

suspected by poison. Domenichino was also an excellent landscape-painter. The character of his landscapes, like that of Annibale Caracci's, is decorative; but it is united in a happy manner with warmth of colour and a cheerful, lively feeling. Excellent works of the kind 10
are in the Villa Ludovisi and in the Doria gallery in Rome.

Domenichino formed but few scholars; one of them, 11
Giambattista Passeri, is one of the most esteemed writers on the history of Italian painting.

§ CVIII. Francesco Albani (1578–1660)*. Elegance 1
is in one word the characteristic of this painter. He delights in cheerful subjects, in which a playful fancy can expatiate, such as scenes and figures from ancient mythology, above all, Venus and her companions, smiling landscapes, and hosts of charming *amorini*, who surround the principal groups, or even form the subject of the picture. But his works, both landscape and figures, have throughout a merely decorative character: their elegance seldom rises to grace of mind; their playfulness rarely bespeaks real enjoyment. Pictures of the class alluded to are not uncommon in galleries. Religious subjects occur less frequently; but in these (some 2
are in the gallery of Bologna), if not more profound, he appears more skilful, and is tolerably free from exaggeration and affectation. One of his most graceful and 3
frequently repeated compositions is the Infant Christ sleeping on the Cross.

* Outlines in Landon: Vies et œuvres, etc., t. Albani.

Albani formed various scholars at Bologna and at
4 Rome. The best of these are:—Giovanni Battista Mola,
a Frenchman, an unaffected painter, by whom there are
5 some good portraits.—Carlo Cignani, an artist of no
great importance, characterized by a graceful but su-
perficial style: one of his pictures, Joseph and Poti-
6 phar's wife, is in the Dresden gallery.—Andrea Sacchi,
the cleverest of the school: a picture by him (an ex-
cellent work of its kind) representing S. Romualdo
among the Friars of his Order, is in the Vatican: it
hardly deserves the epithet grand, but contains some
noble figures in well-managed white drapery; other
7 works of his are very inferior.—Carlo Maratti, a scholar
of Sacchi, flourished about the end of the seventeenth
century: an artist of limited ability, whose works evince
an insipid striving after ideal beauty. His real reputation
in the history of Art is founded on the care with which
he watched over Raphael's frescos in Rome and super-
intended their restoration.

1 § CIX. Guido Reni (1575–1642)*. This artist was gifted with a refined feeling for beauty, both in form and grouping. In a freer period of Art he would probably have attained the highest excellence, but it is precisely in his works that the restraint of his age is most apparent. His *ideal* consisted not so much in an exalted and purified conception of beautiful nature, as in an unmeaning empty abstraction, devoid of individual life and personal interest. In the beauty of his forms, of the heads particularly (which are mostly copied from

* Outlines in Landon: Vies et œuvres, etc., t. Guido.

celebrated antiques, for example the Niobes), and in his grouping, we perceive the cold calculation of the understanding, and it is but seldom that a spontaneous feeling makes its way. The progressive development of Guido was singular in its kind, for its period was marked by works very dissimilar in style. Those of his early time have an imposing, almost violent character: grand, powerful figures majestically arranged, and dark shadows, resembling the manner of the *Naturalisti*, particularly of Caravaggio, of whom we shall presently speak. Among 2
these the Crucifixion of St. Peter, now in the Vatican, is quoted as having been painted in imitation of Caravaggio; it has the heavy, powerful forms of that master, but wants the passion for imitation which is the foundation of his style. Some of the best pictures in the 3
gallery at Bologna belong to this class. A large picture called the Madonna della Pietà may be first mentioned: in the upper part is the body of Christ, laid on a tapestry, the Mater Dolorosa and two weeping angels at the sides; underneath are the patron-saints of Bologna: these have less merit. Still more grand is the Cruci- 4
fixion: the Madonna and St. John are beside the Cross: the Virgin is a figure of solemn beauty—one of Guido's finest and most dignified creations. A third very cele- 5
brated picture at Bologna is the Massacre of the Innocents: the female figures are beautiful and the composition is very animated, but the feeling for mere abstract beauty is here very apparent. We pass over other works of this kind, some of them very celebrated, but really of less excellence, and merely mention in addition a pic- 6
ture in the Berlin Museum representing the two her-

mits, St. Paul and St. Anthony; they are powerful figures, and might be called true heroes of the desert.

At a subsequent time this fondness for the powerful became moderated, and a more simple and natural style of imitation succeeded, but there are few examples ex-
7 tant of this happy period of transition. Guido's best picture—unfortunately an unfinished one—belongs to this time; it is in the choir of S. Martino at Naples, whither the painter was invited; but like other artists, he was driven away by the jealousy of the Neapolitans. The subject is the Nativity: in the figures of the shepherds and women, who come to worship, there is a beauty and artlessness such as are not to be found
8 in any other of his works. A second excellent specimen is the large painting on the ceiling of the garden pavilion of the Rospigliosi palace at Rome: Aurora precedes Phœbus, whose chariot is drawn by white [and piebald] horses, while the Hours advance in rapid flight. Among the latter are some graceful figures in beautiful action; the whole is brilliantly coloured. The artist's transition to a less pleasing manner is seen in a
9 picture of which there are numerous repetitions (at Rome in the gallery of the Capitol, at Schleissheim, in the Museum of Berlin, etc.): it represents Fortune as a naked female figure, sweeping over the globe, while a *genius* endeavours to hold her back by her veil and hair.

Guido's works, during this transition, are distinguished by an agreeable warmth of colour. Those of a later period are of a pale silvery grey; in these the insipid ideality, before alluded to, exhibits itself more and more,

and approaches its greatest degeneracy, viz. a vapid generalization without character—an empty, ordinary kind of grace. Perhaps the best of this class is the famous Assumption of the Virgin, in the gallery at Munich; 10 one of the angels, for example, who supports the Madonna, is remarkable for its delicacy and grace. A 11 more celebrated picture in the gallery of Bologna has in reality less merit; it represents a Madonna in a glory of angels, with the patron-saints of Bologna underneath; the picture is called 'Il Pallione' (the Church Standard), from having been originally used in processions. In the latter part of his life Guido often painted with careless haste; he had given himself up to play, and sought to retrieve his immense losses by raising money as rapidly and easily as he could. At this time chiefly were painted the numerous Madonnas, Cleopatras, Sibyls, etc., which are to be found in every gallery *.

Guido formed a great number of scholars, part of 12 whom imitated his later manner. Among these are Semenza, Gessi, Domenico Canuti, Guido Cagnacci. The best are Simone Cantarini and Gio. Andrea Sirani, whose daughter and scholar, Elisabetta Sirani, also distinguished herself in this style.

§ CX. Gio. Francesco Barbieri, surnamed Guercino 1 da Cento (1590–1666)†, although not immediately be-

* [This must be understood of the inferior repetitions of these subjects, for some of this class are among Guido's most careful and pleasing productions.—ED.]

† Jac. Aless. Calvi: Notizia della Vita e delle Opere di Gio. Franc. Barbieri detto il Guercino da Cento. Bologna, 1808.

longing to the school of the Caracci, or having remained in it but a short time, nevertheless decidedly followed the same general style. The progress of his development may be compared to that of Guido Reni; but he is distinguished from that master by the expression of a livelier feeling, while Guido rather follows his own ideal beauty. In the early works of Guercino we find the same power and solidity, the same depth of shadow, but already tempered by a certain sweetness. There are two excellent pictures of this class in the gallery of
2 Bologna—St. William of Aquitain assuming the garb of
3 a Monk, and the Virgin appearing to St. Bruno. The
4 Incredulity of Thomas, in the gallery of the Vatican, is also a distinguished work; the profile of the Saviour especially is very noble in expression. Among other
5 good paintings of this kind may be mentioned the Pro-
6 phets and Sibyls in the cupola of the cathedral of Pia-cenza, and the Aurora, in a small garden pavilion of the Villa Ludovisi at Rome.

At a later period Guercino, like Guido, adopted a softer style, in which he produced a fascinating effect by a delicate combination of colour. His works of this time have a certain sentimental character, which in some instances is developed with peculiar grace. Among
7 the best are the Dismissal of Hagar, in the gallery at
8 Milan, and a Sibyl in the Tribune at Florence. But in his later works the same insipidity observable in Guido frequently appears; a repulsive mannerism takes the place of sentiment, and the colouring is pale and indi-
9 stinctly washy. Guercino also practised landscape-painting, and acquired in this department a beautiful and juicy style of colouring.

Several painters of the Gennari family were scholars and imitators of Guercino.

§ CXI. Giovanni Lanfranco (1581–1647). In the 1
hands of this painter the Art again degenerates to a mere mechanism, an effort to produce effect by dexterity and superficial means: abrupt contrasts of light and shade; grouping according to school precepts rather than according to the nature of the subject; foreshortenings without necessity, merely to make a display of drawing; countenances which, notwithstanding the tension of every feature, express nothing: these are the elements of Lanfranco's art. Even the study of nature is neglected, and the severity and solidity of the Caracci begin to disappear—the sole merit of a facile and cheerful colour must be excepted. Yet Lanfranco succeeded better than perhaps any other artist of the school: many considerable cupola-paintings were executed by him; for example, those of S. Andrea della Valle in Rome, 2
and those in the Tesoro at Naples, where he alone suc- 3
cessfully maintained his position against the Neapolitan artists.

The following are among the less celebrated scholars 4
of the Caracci. Alessandro Tiarini, chiefly distinguished by clever execution: many of his best pictures are in the gallery of Bologna.—Lionello Spada, a powerful 5
painter, who in general treatment and execution rather inclined to the manner of the *Naturalisti*.—Giacomo 6
Cavedone, also a very able painter: there is an excellent picture by him in the same gallery.—In addition to these may be mentioned the landscape-painter Francesco 7

Grimaldi, who imitated the decorative style already spoken of as characterizing the landscapes of Annibale. There is a series of pictures by him in the Borghese gallery at Rome: a good specimen is also to be seen
8 in the Berlin Museum.—The fruit-painter, Il Gobbo da' Frutti (the Hunchback of Cortona), etc.

9 Bartolommeo Schedone of Modena, who died at an early age in 1615, is also said to have formed his style under the influence of this school. In his earlier works the study of Coreggio is chiefly apparent, but the sharpness and severity of Schedone form an unfavourable contrast to the refined style of that master. He is more pleasing in other works which are independent of this influence, and which are characterized by a straightforward imitation of nature in the manner of the *Naturalisti*.
10 Several interesting pictures by Schedone are in the Museum at Naples, where indeed most of his works are collected; two, representing the distribution of alms to the poor, are especially worthy of notice.

11 Gio. Battista Salvi, surnamed Sassoferrato from his birth-place (1605–1685), is also said to have been formed by scholars of the Caracci, and chiefly, it is supposed, by Domenichino. He is, however, a tolerably independent artist, free from the *ideal* feebleness and emptiness of the later followers of the Caracci. He rather imitated, and not without success, the older masters of the beginning of the sixteenth century, and has indeed a certain affinity with them in his peculiar, but not always unaffected, gentleness of mien. His pictures are not remarkable for depth of feeling, but are simple and expressive. He generally confines himself

to Madonnas with the Infant: some of them are excellent. His most celebrated picture is the Madonna del Rosario in Sta Sabina in Rome.

§ CXII. Other Eclectic schools appeared in Italy simultaneously with the school of the Caracci. That of the Campi, for example, at Cremona, which flourished in the middle and toward the end of the sixteenth century. The head of this school is Giulio Campi: he was originally taught by Giulio Romano, but afterwards followed the manner of several of the great masters. Giulio educated his brother Antonio, a more mannered artist, and Bernardino Campi, another relative, who is the most important master of this school. His works are principally to be found in Cremona.

§ CXIII. A third Eclectic school is that of the Procaccini at Milan; it rose to greater importance than that of the Campi, owing to the patronage of the Borromeo family. Its founder, Ercole Procaccini, was born and educated at Bologna, and flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century. His works are not very extraordinary, but they evince a carefulness and industry which perhaps preserved him from the degenerate mannerism of the time, and well fitted him for the office of a teacher. His best scholar was his son Camillo, who flourished about the beginning of the seventeenth century. In the works of this artist we find, together with the study of the older masters, a particular and sometimes successful imitation of Coreggio and Parmigianino, united with a clever conception of nature. He is, however,

very unequal: a great facility in conception and execution led him into frequent abuse of his talents, particularly in the works which he executed out of Milan. His better pictures are in the churches and galleries of that city; in these a peculiar gentleness occasionally reminds us of the manner of Sassoferrato. A Madonna and Child, in Sta Maria del Carmine, and an Adoration of the Kings, in the Brera, both deserve notice. Giulio Cesare Procaccini, the brother of Camillo, applied himself also to the imitation of Coreggio, and in small cabinet pictures not without success. There is a good specimen in the Berlin Museum—the Angel appearing to Joseph in a Dream; other works by him are at Milan. This artist too is very unequal, and is frequently mannered.

Of the numerous descendants of the school of Procaccini the most distinguished is Giovanni Battista Crespi, surnamed Il Cerano from his birth-place (1557–1653). This artist, though not free from mannerism, is powerful and grand. There are excellent pictures by him in the Brera at Milan, and a very clever one in the Museum of Berlin.—His son and scholar, Daniel Crespi, is a less distinguished artist, but there is a series of clever portraits by him in Sta Maria della Passione at Milan.—Enea Salmeggia, surnamed Il Talpino, also belongs to the school of the Procaccini, having first studied with the Campi. He deserves notice from his peculiarly simple dignity and beautiful feminiscences of Coreggio and Leonardo da Vinci. Several of his pictures are in the Milan gallery. The school afterwards degenerated into a superficial manner, with a total want of cha-

racter. To this period belongs Ercole Procaccini the younger. 11

§ CXIV. In Rome, Federigo Baroccio of Urbino (1528–1612) was the first who opposed the influence of the mannerists, by seeking to form a style on the model of the great masters, particularly Coreggio. He distinguished himself, if not by depth of meaning or power of representation, by an agreeable fusion of tints, often by a poetic simplicity of conception, and sometimes by the expression of real passion. His rivals having attempted to poison him while he was at work in the Vatican, he thought it advisable to return to Urbino, and there execute the works entrusted to him. These were distributed in various parts of Italy, and produced many imitators. One of his most considerable works, a large Deposition from the Cross, is in the Duomo of Perugia. His Madonnas and Holy Families are numerous. 1 2

Among his followers in Rome are—Cristoforo Roncalli (Il Cavaliere delle Pomarance), many of whose pictures, for the most part mediocre performances, are in that city; Gio. Baglione; some German artists, etc. 3

The most important follower of Baroccio is the Florentine Ludovico Cardi da Cigoli (1559–1613); he is distinguished by a beautiful, warm colouring, but in expression frequently degenerates into extreme sentimentality or exaggerated passion. The gallery of the Uffizj at Florence possesses many of his works. One of the most important, the Martyrdom of St. Stephen, is as excellent in colouring as it is violent and confused in action and expression. He frequently painted the subject of 4 5

6 St. Francis: the best is in the Pitti palace*. Among
7 his scholars are Gregorio Pagani, Domenico Passignano, and Domenico Feti, a Roman; the last is more inclined to the manner of the *Naturalisti*.

8 Cristofano Allori, a Florentine, son of Alessandro Allori, already mentioned, belongs to the same general school (1577–1621). He is one of the best artists of his time, and in some works rises far above the confined aim of his contemporaries, displaying a noble originality.
9 His most finished picture is in the Pitti palace, and represents Judith with the head of Holofernes; she is a beautiful and splendidly attired woman, with a grand enthusiastic expression. The countenance is wonderfully fine and Medusa-like, and conveys all that the loftiest poetry can express in the character of Judith. In the head of Holofernes it is said that the artist has represented his own portrait, and that of his proud mistress in the Judith. There are several repetitions
10 of this picture: one, of the same size, is in the imperial
11 gallery at Vienna; a second, of small dimensions, very delicately executed, is in the Uffizj at Florence. Other works by the same artist, some of them of great merit,
12 are to be met with in Florence, for example in the the Uffizj; other specimens are less important.

Generally speaking, very satisfactory efforts are apparent in Florentine Art in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Among the artists of this time may be
13 mentioned Jacopo da Empoli, distinguished in portraits;

* [One of Cigoli's finest works in the Pitti palace is the Ecce Homo; a production of such excellence, that it might have been selected in preference to the St. Francis, and might have even warranted a higher general eulogy on the artist.—ED.]

and Matteo Rosselli, a painter of great merit. The Triumph of David, by the latter, in the Pitti palace, is 14
distinguished by a freshness of life and beauty which entitle it to be classed with the happiest of Domenichino's creations. He formed a numerous school. Gio- 15
vanni di S. Giovanni (called Manozzi), Baldassare Franceschini (Volterranno giovane), and Francesco Furini, are among the best of his followers. These artists, if unequal to their master, have left very pleasing works, in one department at least, viz. portrait-painting. There 16
is an excellent Hunting-party by Giovanni in the Pitti palace; but there is also a tasteless picture by the same artist in the Uffizj, representing Venus arran- 17
ging Cupid's hair with a comb.

Carlo Dolce (1616–1686), also from the school of 18
Matteo Rosselli, is about equal in merit to his contemporary Sassoferrato. He also limited himself to the confined circle of Madonnas and Saints, and in these subjects has displayed a peculiar gentleness, grace, and delicacy. He is distinguished from Sassoferrato by a greater degree of sentimentality, which is sometimes pleasing, but it frequently degenerates into insipidity and affectation. His works are not rare in galleries: among the best are a Madonna and Child in the Pitti 19
palace; a St. Cecilia in the Dresden Gallery (several re- 20
petitions are in other places); a St. John the Evangelist 21
in the Berlin Museum, etc.

§ CXV. In the course of the seventeenth century a new mannerism hastened the decay of the now nearly extinct influence of the Eclectic school.

[1] The principal founder of this pernicious style, which chiefly aimed at filling space with the least cost of labour, was Pietro Berettini da Cortona (1596–1669). He [2] lived and worked at Florence and Rome: the allegorical paintings on the ceiling of a large saloon of the Palazzo Barberini in Rome are his chief works*. In both cities he left a great number of scholars, who faithfully adhered to his style, and thus dictated the taste of the eighteenth [3] century. Among them are Ciro Ferri, Giovanni Francesco Romanelli, etc.

CHAPTER II.

THE NATURALISTI.

§ CXVI. The hostility of the *Naturalisti* to the Eclectics, particularly to the school of the Caracci, has already been alluded to. It manifested itself not only by means of the pencil, but, as we have seen, had recourse to poison and the dagger. The *Naturalisti* were so called from their predilection for common nature—for direct imitation. But this taste does not appear to have been merely accidental with them, as a consequence of any particular mania for originality; on the contrary, it is founded on a peculiar feeling, which displayed itself in full force (and it must be confessed too exclusively) for the first time in their works: Passion is the predominant inspiring principle in their representations. The forms

* Barberinæ aulæ fornix Romæ eq. Petri Berettini Cortonensis picturis admirandus. J. J. de Rubeis ed.

which they bring before us are not those of nature in a refined state, like those of the great masters in the beginning of the sixteenth century—a nature in which beauty is the evidence of moral harmony, and the feelings of love or hatred seem the indications of a godlike energy. Their figures want alike this physical elevation and this divine impulse—they are given up to demons of earth; and even when no animated scene is represented, the spectator feels that they are capable of the wildest excitement. But in thus entirely devoting themselves to this one aim, and in rejecting the tame rational *ideal* of their contemporaries, the *Naturalisti* carried their peculiar style of Art to a perfection, which in its effect on the feelings of the spectator far surpasses most of the works of the Eclectics. Their style of imitation, when displayed in all its exclusiveness, might be called *the poetry of the repulsive.* Hence their imitation of common nature as connected with the desires of sense; hence the sharp, abrupt lights and dark shadows (particularly the dark backgrounds) which are employed in their works.

§ CXVII. The chief master of this style is Michelangelo Amerighi da Caravaggio (1569–1609), an artist whose wild passions and tempestuous life were the counterpart of his pictures. He resided principally in Rome, but at a later period went to Naples, Malta, and Sicily. Notwithstanding his vulgarity of conception, his works display a peculiar grandeur, which is particularly apparent in the lines of his draperies. One of his principal works is an Entombment of Christ in the Vatican: a

picture certainly wanting in all the characteristics of holy sublimity, but nevertheless full of solemnity, only perhaps too like the funeral ceremony of a gipsy chief.
2 The Holy Family, remarkable for its gigantic style, in the Borghese gallery in Rome, is also a grand picture, but it again has only the air of a wild gipsy *ménage*. This want of harmony between the theme and its treatment is of course no longer striking where the subject is not of a sacred character. Caravaggio succeeds best in
3 scenes of sorcery, murder, midnight treachery, etc. One of his best pictures of this kind is the Cheating Gamester, of which there are many repetitions; the best is in
4 the Sciarra palace in Rome. To this class also belongs a masterly picture in the Berlin Museum, representing Earthly Love: a boy with eagle's wings, daring and reckless in character and action, rising from his couch, tramples books, musical instruments, a laurel-wreath, and other attributes of the kind, under his feet.
5 Caravaggio had several scholars and followers: of these two Frenchmen are particularly distinguished—
6 Moses Valentin and Simon Vouet. The Martyrdom of St. Processus and St. Martinianus in the Vatican (also executed in St. Peter's in mosaic) is by the former; an
7 unimportant and bad picture.—Carlo Saraceno, a Venetian, was also a follower of Caravaggio, without entirely throwing off the influence of his native school.

§ CXVIII. The *Naturalisti* appeared in their greatest strength in Naples, where they perseveringly opposed
1 the followers of the Caracci. At their head was Giuseppi Ribera, a Spaniard, hence called Lo Spagnoletto

(1593–1656). He formed his style chiefly after Caravaggio; but in his earlier works we find, with many reminiscences of the Spanish school, a successful study of Coreggio and the great Venetian masters: to these studies he is indebted for his peculiar vivacity of colour, even in his later works. His Deposition from the Cross, 2
(the body of Christ mourned by the Marys and disciples) in the sacristy of S. Martino at Naples, is a most masterly production, and rivals the best specimens of Italian Art. The Madonna, who kneels behind the body of her son, is strikingly beautiful. In the choir of the 3
same church there is a Last Supper by Spagnoletto, much in the manner of Paul Veronese, and containing many excellent parts; the figure of Christ is especially successful. A few other works of this, his best period, are also preserved at Naples. In general, however, his 4
pictures exhibit a wild, extravagant fancy; this is apparent in his numerous half-figures of anchorites, prophets, philosophers—all angular, bony figures—and still more in his large historical pictures. In these he delights in the most horrible subjects—executions, tortures, martyrdoms of all kinds. A very masterly picture 5
of this kind, representing the preparation for the martyrdom of St. Bartholomew, is in the Berlin Museum; in this instance the spectator feels a shuddering interest, while pictures by the master elsewhere, which represent the Saint half flayed, excite nothing but repugnance and disgust. Many works, however, which bear the name of Spagnoletto in galleries, are by his scholars, who imitated his manner and repeatedly copied his productions.

Contemporary with Spagnoletto in Naples were a few

artists who rather followed the manner of the Caracci, but were considerably influenced at the same time
6 by the *Naturalisti*. To these belong Bellisario Correnzio, a Greek, originally formed in Venice in the school of
7 Tintoretto—and Giambattista Caracciolo: their works
8 are frequent in Naples.

Massimo Stanzioni (1585–1656), a scholar of Caracciolo, appears to have formed his style from the works of Caravaggio and Spagnoletto, of whom we are reminded in the greater part of his pictures. But in some works he manifested a much nobler feeling than any of the masters
9 of this style, particularly in his paintings in the chapel of St. Bruno in S. Martino* at Naples. In these we find an elevated beauty and repose, a noble simplicity and distinctness of line, united with such excellent colour, as are rarely to be met with in this period. Stanzioni was persecuted by the passionate Spagnoletto with not less bit-
10 terness than the foreign artists. He had painted over the principal entrance of S. Martino a Dead Christ between the Marys; the picture having become rather dark, Spagnoletto persuaded the monks to allow him to wash it, but injured it so seriously with a corrosive liquid, that Stanzioni refused to restore it, in order that this scandalous
11 piece of treachery might be known to all. Stanzioni formed many scholars; but the best of them, Domenico Finoglia, Giuseppe Marullo, and others, rather inclined to
12 the manner of Spagnoletto.—Among the less important *Naturalisti* of this time are Maria Preti (Il Cavaliere

* The Carthusian convent of S. Martino (on St. Elmo at Naples), which we have already had frequent occasion to mention, contains the most valuable specimens of the Neapolitan school of the seventeenth century.

Calabrese), originally a scholar of Guercino; and the Genoese Bernardo Strozzi, surnamed Il Prete Genovese.

§ CXIX. From the school of Spagnoletto arose two 1
artists, who introduced a peculiar style into the art. These were Aniello Falcone and Salvator Rosa: the latter soon left his master and studied under Aniello, who was the first considerable painter of battle-pieces, and the founder of a large school. This school distinguished itself also in political history, for it took part in the insurrection of Masaniello against the Spaniards, as an organized band under the name of "La Compagnia della Morte." After the death of Masaniello it was dissolved. Aniello went to France, Salvator to Rome.

Salvator Rosa (1615–1673) displayed a remarkable 2
versatility: he painted history, *genre*, and landscape, and was besides a poet and musician. Many of his works 3
are in the Pitti palace at Florence. In history he followed the style of the *Naturalisti*, and often treated it successfully. Some of his pictures of this class, it is true, want interest and importance; others, again, are impassioned and characteristic. The best is the Conspiracy 4
of Catiline in the Pitti palace. Salvator is very great in portrait: in this department also he followed the *Naturalisti*. In battle-pieces he improved on the manner of Aniello, and occasionally produced excellent works of this kind.

In landscape he appears to have formed his style on that of Claude Lorraine*, of whom we shall have to

* [Salvator had formed his style as a landscape-painter at Naples before he had seen the works of Claude. If a certain imitation of that artist is to be traced in a few pictures, it could only have been temporary, and the examples are rare.—Ed.]

speak in the following volume. In some of his works we find the same ideal treatment, the same serenity of atmosphere and simple purity of line, which are observable in Claude's works. Such pictures of Salvator have a certain air of constraint and insipidity: he displays more beauty and originality in wild mountain scenes, lonely defiles and deep forests; but most of all in landscapes of smaller dimensions, where this fantastic conception of nature is more concentrated, and the whole seems to express, as it were, a single chord, a hint for the mind, a momentary feeling rather than the complete expression of a comprehensive idea. In these he usually introduces hermits, robbers, or wandering soldiers, who assist the general effect of the picture, and add to the impression of loneliness, desolation and fear. There are excellent pictures of this kind in
5 the public gallery of Augsburg. In other works again the landscape becomes subordinate, and the figures form the principal subject of the picture: in these, the fantastic, poetic conception of the artist appears in all its originality. A Warrior doing Penance is one of
6 his favourite subjects. A very beautiful specimen, of small size and excellent execution, was for sale at Carlsruhe in 1832. The scene was a desolate country: in the branches of a tree a wooden cross was erected; under it lay a warrior, extended on the ground, partly naked, but wearing his helmet and some detached plates of armour; his feet and hands bound so that
7 the latter are raised towards the cross. Another excellent repetition, with several variations and somewhat larger, is in the gallery at Vienna.

8 Salvator formed two landscape-painters: Bartolom-

meo Torregiani, a Roman, who, like his master, sometimes reminds us of Claude; and the Neapolitan Dome- 9
nico Gargiuoli (Micco Spadaro), who also attempted small figures; many paintings by this artist are to be met with in Naples.

The style of *genre* and battle-painting was also followed by some other artists of the time. Michelangelo 10
Cerquozzi (Michelangelo delle Battaglie) is highly distinguished in battle-pieces, and more particularly in scenes of low life. An excellent picture by him, repre- 11
senting the entry of one of the Popes into Rome, is in the Berlin Museum. The Frenchman Jacques Courtois, 12
or Bourguignon (Jacopo Cortese, Borgognone), one of the most celebrated of the battle-painters, was a scholar of Cerquozzi.

The energy of the Neapolitan artists of this period 13
was not imitated by their successors, who chiefly followed the manner of Pietro da Cortona, and introduced a similar vicious style into Neapolitan Art. To these belong the rapid painter Luca Giordano, surnamed Fa Presto (1632–1705), distinguished nevertheless by his warm colouring; Paolo di Matteis (his scholar); Solimena, Conca, etc.

§ CXX. Among the Venetians of the seventeenth century we find much mannerism, together with the influence of foreign Art, yet the peculiar tendency of their school (generally modified by the style of the *Naturalisti* of the time) still predominated, and was the means of producing some meritorious works.

Jacopo Palma giovane (1544–1628), of whose works 1

Venice is full, notwithstanding his mechanical manner,
evinces much talent, and is sometimes beautiful in de-
2 tails, particularly in his heads. Some of his best pictures
are in the Palace of the Doge and in the Academy;
3 many more are in the churches.—Giovanni Contarini, a
later artist, appears to be an imitator of Michael Angelo.
4 —His contemporary, Carlo Ridolfi, whose works are less
mannered, distinguished himself as an historian of the
Venetian school.

The most important artist of this school in the seven-
5 teenth century was Alessandro Varotari of Padua, sur-
named Il Padovanino (1590–1650); not remarkable,
it is true, for grand or noble conception, but for an
6 agreeable softness of execution in his heads. His
principal work, the Marriage at Cana, in the Academy
of Venice, composed in the manner of Paul Veronese,
7 is a very favourable specimen.—Another Paduan, Pietro
8 Liberi, is a less pleasing artist.—Alessandro Turchi,
surnamed L' Orbetto, a Veronese, by the finish and
grace of his pictures occupies a not unimportant place
among the artists of this period.—Among the Venetian
painters of the first half of the eighteenth century,
9 Giovanni Battista Tiepolo is remarkable for his wild, fan-
10 tastic compositions; and Pietro Rotari of Verona is distin-
guished by his clever execution, and a simple, unaffected
style.—The most important, however, are the two archi-
11 tectural painters, Antonio Canale, and his nephew Ber-
nardo Bellotto, surnamed Canaletto. Their views of
cities, particularly of Venice and her canals, are skil-
fully painted, and interest the spectator in various ways.
Pictures of the kind are very common.

CHAPTER III.

RECENT EFFORTS.

§ CXXI. After the middle of the eighteenth century a desire for severer study again appeared amid the confusion of styles that divided Italian Art. This desire was especially awakened by foreigners; by Winckelmann, who first felt and communicated the spirit of the antique in all its depth; and by Raphael Mengs, whose works exhibit a new form of eclecticism. This aim is most 1
apparent in the works of Pompeo Batoni*, among which an altar-picture, representing the fall of Simon Magus, in Sta Maria degli Angeli in Rome, deserves to be mentioned with honour.

But no important consequences followed this new impulse. Toward the close of the century, the French 2
painter David was considered the first master of modern Art, and the painters of Italy followed in the path he had opened. Numerous works appeared in the beginning of the nineteenth century, which evince the same predilection for the antique, and the same influence of the French stage—the circle in which the genius of David moved. Pietro Benvenuti of Perugia is the best of 3
these artists: his Judith displaying the head of Holo- 4
fernes to the assembled people (in the Duomo of Arezzo), his Pyrrhus killing Priam after the taking of 5
Troy (in the Palazzo Corsini at Florence), are among the more meritorious works which may be said to have emanated from David's school. Vincenzio Ca- 6

* Cav. O. Boni: Elogio del Cav. Pompeo Batoni. Roma, 1787.

muccini of Rome is also one of the most celebrated masters of this style. But this taste, too, has passed away, and appears to have left no permanent result which can promote a new restoration of Italian Art. In the exhibitions of modern productions, the traveller finds little to arrest his attention. Copies from the great works of former ages, views of the most celebrated classic landscapes, or now and then scenes illustrating the manners of the people, which the traveller carries to his home as remembrances of costume, form the far greater proportion of modern Italian productions, and are rather objects of commercial speculation than indications of a vital impulse in Art. The few works which are skilfully painted, or informed with mind, are as exceptions in the mass. Italy, once blest with the noblest creative power, once gifted with the liveliest perception of the beautiful, now only dreams of past renown. The Arts have quitted her, to seek a new home in other lands.

LIST OF PLACES

REFERRED TO

IN THE FIRST VOLUME.

I. ITALY.

ALZANO (near Bergamo).

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AREZZO.

Duomo:
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ARONA (near Milan).

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Lo Spagna, § 58, 10.

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Paintings of the fifteenth century, § 56, 1, *note.*

Duomo:
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THE CHURCH DEGLI ANGELI (near Assisi).

Stanze di S. Francesco—in the choir of the church:
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Parish Church:
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BERGAMO.

Sto Spirito:
Andrea Previtali, § 52, 25.
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Paintings in several churches by Lorenzo Lotto, § 96, 31.

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S. Petronio:
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S. Giacomo Maggiore—Chapel of the Bentivogli:
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F. Francia, § 60, 2, 3.

Sta Cecilia (at present a public passage behind S. Giacomo Maggiore):

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S. Micchele in Bosco:
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Jacobus Pauli, § 33, 4, *note.*
Petrus Lianoris, § 33, 5, *note.*
B. Caterina Vigri, § 33, 7.
Marco Zoppo (?), § 47, 3, *note.*
Francesco Cossa, § 47, 6.
P. Perugino, § 57, 12.
Fr. Francia, § 60, 1, 6.
Giacomo and Giulio Francia, § 60, 9.
Guido Aspertini, § 60, 11.
Lorenzo Costa, § 60, 12.
Giuliano Bugiardini, § 64. 10.
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Timoteo della Vite, § 88, 1.
Bagnacavallo, § 88, 5.
Innocenzo da Imola, § 88, 9, 10.
Pellegrino Tibaldi, § 88, 15.
Parmigianino, § 94, 5.
Lodovico Caracci, § 106, 4–6.
Agostino Caracci, § 106, 8.
Annibal Caracci, § 106, 9.
Domenichino, § 107, 7.
Fr. Albano, § 108, 2.
Guido Reni, § 109, 3–5, 11.
Guercino, § 110, 2, 3.
Alessandro Tiarini, § 111, 4.
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BRESCIA.

S. Nazario:
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* Now in the possession of Mr. Munro, London.

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* [This Gallery is now removed to the Hague.—ED.]

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